

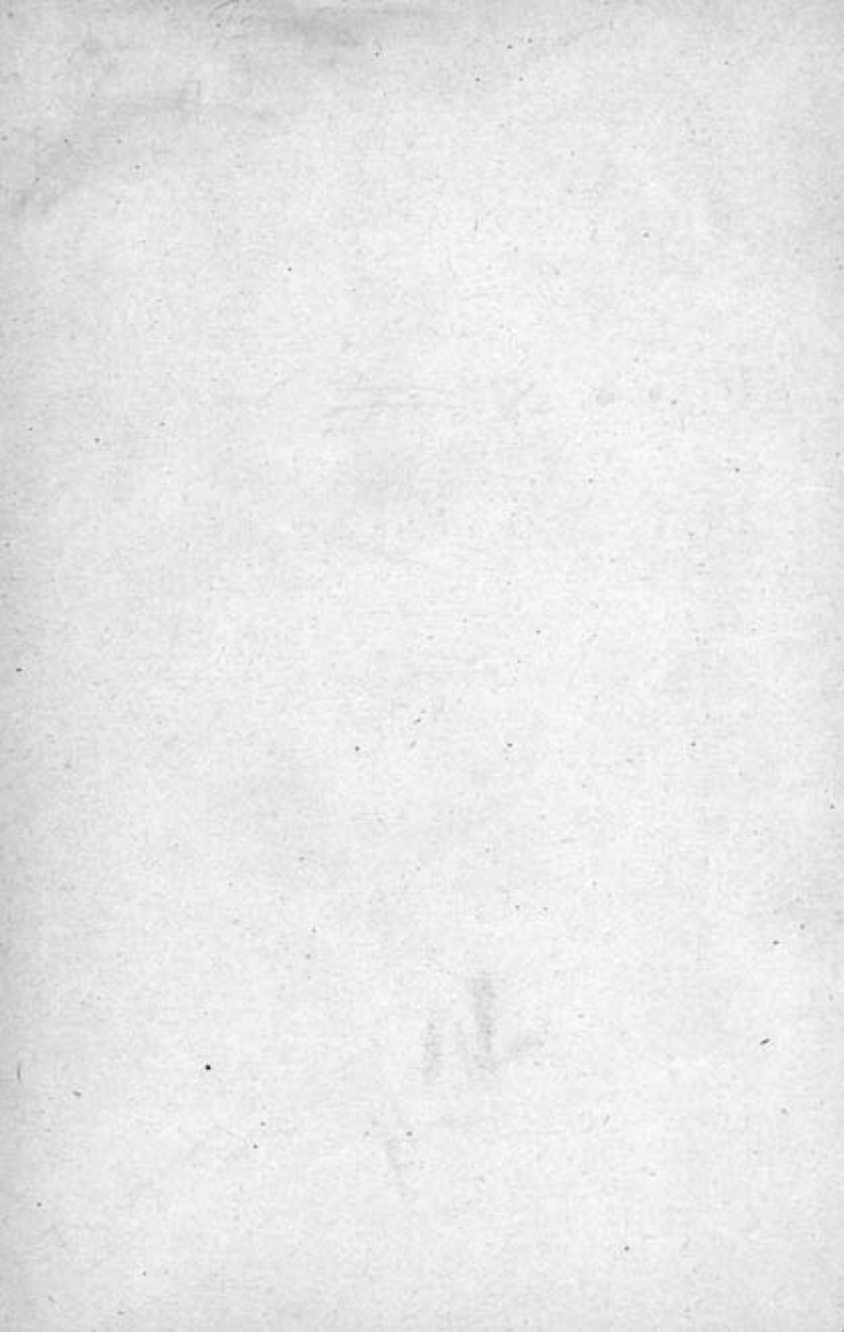
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SWISS TRAVEL  
AND  
SWISS GUIDE-BOOKS

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SWISS TRAVEL  
AND  
SWISS GUIDE-BOOKS

BY  
W. A. B. COOLIDGE

FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD : AND  
EDITOR OF 'THE ALPINE JOURNAL'

*Inquam igitur intueam esse  
naturæ quisquis non magis con-  
templatione dignissimos esse montes  
exceles judicaverit'*

GESNER, 1541

LONDON  
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To the Memory of  
MY DEAR AUNT  
META CLAUDIA BREVOORT

TO WHOM I OWE  
AMIDST COUNTLESS OTHER BLESSINGS  
MY LOVE FOR AND MY KNOWLEDGE OF THE GREAT MOUNTAINS  
WHICH NONE HAVE EVER LOVED MORE TRULY AND  
FEW HAVE KNOWN BETTER THAN SHE DID

I dedicate this book  
WHILE WRITING WHICH  
THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN PRESENT WITH ME  
THE RECOLLECTION OF MANY HAPPY DAYS  
SPENT WITH HER AMONG THEM



## PREFACE

---

THE first sketch of the paper which forms the main part of the present volume was originally published in the *Guardian* (June 15, 1887), the editor of which has kindly granted me permission to make use of it. In its present shape it has been thoroughly revised and very much enlarged. It is an attempt to work out a new side of the history of travel in Switzerland—the development of guide-books and other means of travel. My best thanks are due to the friends who have sent me invaluable information and suggestions, and in particular to Mr. A. J. Butler, Mr. Douglas Freshfield, Mr. Marett, Sir F. Pollock, Mr. Leslie Stephen, and Mr. Tuckett.

The second paper traces out the history, mainly from a traveller's point of view, of a well-known Alpine village, and is intended to illustrate the practical application of the system sketched in general outline in the principal article.

Both papers were, in their early stages, written for publication in the 'Alpine Journal,' but have swelled to such dimensions that it has been thought better to issue them in a separate form.

W. A. B. COOLIDGE.

OXFORD: *April 25, 1889.*

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*Additions to the List of Works on Switzerland*  
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- Page 129. No. 41. This book was freely translated into French by M. de Kéralio, whose edition appeared in 1770 at Paris in a single quarto volume, bearing the title 'Histoire Naturelle des Glacieres de Suisse.'
- Page 139. No. 128 *bis*. 1833. *L. Venetz*. Mémoire sur les Variations de la Température dans les Alpes de la Suisse. Rédigé en 1821. (Printed in vol. i. part ii. of the 'Denkschriften der allgemeinen Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für die gesammten Naturwissenschaften.' Zürich. This article contains much information as to passes over glaciers in former days.)
- Page 149. No. 232 *bis*. 1881. *Marquess of Queensberry*. The Spirit of the Matterhorn. London. 8vo. (A Poem.)
- Page 149. No. 241 *bis*. 1889. *Victor Tissot*. Unknown Switzerland. Translated by Mrs. Wilson. London. Crown 8vo.





# SWISS TRAVEL

AND

## SWISS GUIDE-BOOKS

---

WE commonly think of Switzerland as the 'playground of Europe,' and we generally forget—if we ever knew the fact—that it has only become a playground within the last century or so, while it has a glorious past history, quite apart from Tell and Winkelried, and its institutions, political, social, and economical, deserve the most careful study. Swiss travel passed through several stages before it became identical with travel for pleasure, and the books compiled for the use of early travellers differed much from those to which we are now accustomed. A rapid glance at these travellers and their guide-books may not be without interest, and will show that both 'Cook's Tourists' and the 'J.E.M. Guide to Switzerland' are the result of a long continued process of natural selection, though perhaps they can hardly be classed as 'survivals of the fittest' for the world in general. I wish to trace out the history of the practical side of travel-

ling in Switzerland—the history of the development of certain of the means of Swiss travel (to wit, guide-books, inns, roads, and railways), as distinct from the more general history of the rise of the taste for Swiss travel. It may be sometimes necessary for me to touch on the latter subject, but it will always be by way of illustration of the former, to which, in writing these pages, I have tried to limit myself, as it has never before been treated of in detail. I have, however, devoted more space to Alpine than to sub-alpine travelling in Switzerland, without pretending in any way to write a complete history of Swiss climbing.<sup>1</sup> As I am writing for tourists, I may be allowed, *pro hac vice* only, to trace the boundaries of Switzerland according to what may be called tourist geography, excluding from this sketch, with the exception of an occasional mention, the Engadine and the rest of the Canton of the Grisons or Graubünden (politically Swiss since 1803 only), and including Chamonix and the chain of Mont Blanc, now mainly French, but formerly part of the realms of the King of Sardinia, as head of the House of Savoy.

Three main periods may be distinguished in the history of Swiss travel. Roughly speaking, we may say that before the Reformation travellers, not being merchants, came to what is now Switzerland bent on some serious errand, military, religious, or medicinal. During the next three centuries Switzerland became the home and field of the renewed study of the physical sciences. Then, from about 1750 onwards,

<sup>1</sup> For Notes see p. 155.

pleasure-travelling came into fashion, confined at first to cities, later extended to lakes and the hills around them, finally aiming at the complete conquest of the highest summits and the exploration of the most remote and most insignificant nooks of the ice and snow region.

The earliest visitors were soldiers and missionaries. Alike in aiming at a permanent possession of the land and its inhabitants, though for very different reasons, and working in very different ways, each went forth into an unknown country with their lives in their hands, and with only the scantiest information as to the geography of the land and the character of the inhabitants. The Romans so completely colonised what is now Western Switzerland that the later Teutonic Burgundians were very rapidly Romanised. The Alamannian hordes in the North maintained their own nationality, though it was long before they penetrated into the higher valleys. Later Swiss history has simply been the history of the lordship of the Alamannians over the Burgundians, the latter (in '*la Suisse Romande*') not gaining political equality with their Teutonic masters till after the first French Revolution.

The work of the missionaries was even more thorough and more rapidly carried out. Many of them were Irishmen—St. Beatus, the apostle of the Bernese Oberland, St. Columbanus, and St. Gallus; while St. Maurice, both a soldier and a martyr, was one of the Theban Legion, which contributed many missionaries to the Western Alps.<sup>2</sup> Through their

energy and self-sacrifice churches were built, monasteries were founded, round which towns grew up, and episcopal sees were created—so that in feudal times the ecclesiastics were able in many cases to withstand the temporal nobles. The great abbey of St. Maurice survives to this day, and its former importance is illustrated by the remark of a recent writer,<sup>3</sup> that till the archives of the monastery are opened to students it will be impossible to write a complete and full history of the Lower Valais.

A little later we find Switzerland being used as a place of transit, as well as a place of abode; for the pilgrims coming from the west and north of Europe, and journeying to Rome, had to cross the Alps somewhere, and their favourite pass was the Great St. Bernard. On the pass known to the Romans as 'Summus Penninus,' or 'Mons Jovis' (Montjoux), a holy man, named Bernard, of Menthon, founded (or re-founded, for a monastery existed there as early as 812, and a hospice in 859) a hospice, served by brothers, who by 1154 had become the Austin Canons Regular, well known to every Swiss tourist at the present day. Unluckily it is as yet uncertain whether St. Bernard of Menthon lived in the tenth or the eleventh century.<sup>4</sup> Certain it is, however, that the first known authentic mention of the church of St. Nicholas of Montjoux and the 'fratres' or 'servitores' attached to it occurs in two documents of 1125. We hear in 1145 of the 'hospitale de Monte Jovis,' while about 1154 (in the Itinerary of Abbot Nicholas, of Thingör, in Iceland) we read of 'hospitium Bernhardi,'

in 1158 of the 'ecclesia sancti Nicolai et sancti Bernardi de Monte Jovis,' and in 1177 of a gift of the church and tithes of Avranches, as well as of lands (of the value of 25*l.* per annum) at the same place, and of the chapel of Romford, &c.,<sup>5</sup> made to it by the 'illustrious King' Henry II. of England, whose son John was in 1173 betrothed to the heiress of the Maurienne (she died in 1174), part of whose dowry consisted of lands in the valley of Aosta.<sup>6</sup> Even before the foundation of such a refuge we hear of many pilgrims facing great perils in crossing the pass, owing to their desire to reach the 'threshold of the Apostles'—e.g. Willibald (c. 720), Charles the Great (repeatedly), Siric, Archbishop of Canterbury (990), and possibly King Cnut (1027), if the pass he crossed was not rather the Mont Cenis.<sup>7</sup> In particular, the crowds of Icelanders are very remarkable. To the natural dangers of the road was added, in the tenth century, the special danger of the Saracen brigands, who had seized on the pass. The capture by them (in 973) of St. Majolus, the Abbot of Cluny, is one of the best known and most vivid of mediæval stories, and the stir it caused had much to do with the final extirpation of this nest of pirates in their stronghold of Fraxinetum, on the coast of Provence.<sup>8</sup>

It was, however, *after* the building of the church and the 'hospitium' that the pilgrims became more numerous. Rudolf, the Abbot of St. Trond, near Liège, crossed in December 1128, and a very spirited account of his adventures, of the avalanches and storms, and of the conduct of the guides, or 'marones,'

has been preserved to us in the chronicle of his monastery, though no mention is made of the 'hospitium' on the pass.

I venture to offer a translation of this very vivid narrative :

On their return they (i.e. the Abbot Rudolf and one of his monks, by name Alexander) kept the feast of Christmas (1128) at Piacenza, and, amid the increasing perils of a winter journey, passed through the city of Aosta, and reached with difficulty that was next door to death the village of Restopolis (Etroubles), which is at the foot of the Mount of Jove. Here they spent the octave of Christmas, being unable to go forwards or backwards by reason of the very deep snowdrifts. After several days a very difficult path was pointed out to them by the 'marones,' who acted as their guides—for those who point out the way are called 'marones'<sup>9</sup>—by which, after having traversed a distance of two German miles, they reached the village of St. Rémy, on the Mount of Jove itself. In this place, as though fixed in the jaws of death, they remained, in peril of death by night and by day. The small village was overcrowded by the throng of pilgrims. From the lofty and rugged heights above it there fell often huge masses of snow, carrying away everything they encountered, so that when some parties of the guests had found their places, and others were still waiting near the houses,<sup>10</sup> these masses swept the latter away, and suffocated some, while crushing and crippling others, of those who were within the buildings. In such a continual state of death they had to spend several days in this ill-omened village. Then the 'marones' of the mountain came of their own accord to the pilgrims, and offered for a large reward that they should try and open up the road, that the pilgrims should follow them on foot, then the horses after them, so that the

path being well trodden down, a good road might be made for the horses' masters, who, as being more tender, might come after the others. Hence the 'marones' wrapped their heads round with felt because of the intense cold, put rough mittens on their hands, pulled on their high boots, the soles of which were armed with iron spikes on account of the slipperiness of the ice, took in their hands long poles to sound for the path, buried deep under the snow, and boldly started along the usual road. It was very early in the morning, and the pilgrims, in the greatest fear and trembling, prepared themselves, by celebrating the divine mysteries and communicating, to face imminent death. They strove with one another which of them should first make his confession to a priest, and, as one priest was not sufficient, they confessed their sins to each other in turn throughout the church. While these devotions were taking place with the utmost fervency in church, a most sorrowful lament resounded through the village, for as the 'marones' were advancing out of the village in one another's steps, an enormous mass of snow like a mountain slipped from the rocks, overwhelmed ten of them, and carried them away, as it seemed, to the depths of hell. Those who had become aware of this mysterious disaster had made a hasty and furious rush down to the murderous spot, and, having dug out the 'marones,' were carrying back some of them quite lifeless and others half dead upon poles, and dragging others, with broken limbs, in their arms. This poor woman was crying aloud for her husband, that one for her brother; this man and that that he had lost so and so. When the pilgrims came out of the church they were terrified by this horrible accident, hesitated a little while, and then, fearing that the like fate would be theirs, fled back to Restopolis as fast as they could. Nothing was said now of the difficulties of the path; it seemed quite easy to them as a means of escaping from the peril of death. There

they spent the feast of the Epiphany (January 6). Then, having waited for fine weather, they hired 'marones,' and returned to the death-dealing village, and, fear of death lending wings to their feet, now crawling, now stumbling, managed at last to reach that day a point half-way up the mountain. On the following day, plucking up courage for a little, they escaped from the horrid sanctuary of Jove, and, setting out in the direction of their own land, reached home without great difficulty.<sup>11</sup>

Abbot Rudolf's experience of the demands of his guides might possibly have made him believe that there was here a curious, even if accidental, resemblance between the two words mentioned by Littré—the Walloon 'maroner,' to thief, and the Low Latin 'marro,' a guide. Even more interesting is the following striking letter of Master John de Bremble, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, sent to Rome on the business of his house. The letter is addressed to his sub-prior Geoffrey, and describes his passage of the Great St. Bernard in February 1188. It is thus translated by Bishop Stubbs in his recent delightful volume of 'Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History' (p. 128) :—

Pardon me for not writing. I have been on the Mount of Jove ; on the one hand looking up to the heavens of the mountains, on the other shuddering at the hell of the valleys, feeling myself so much nearer heaven that I was more sure that my prayer would be heard. 'Lord,' I said, 'restore me to my brethren, that I may tell them, that they come not into this place of torment.' Place of torment indeed, where the marble pavement of the stony ground is ice alone, and you cannot set your foot safely ;



where, strange to say, although it is so slippery that you cannot stand, the death (into which there is every facility for a fall) is certain death. I put my hand in my scrip, that I might scratch out a syllable or two to your sincerity—lo, I found my ink-bottle filled with a dry mass of ice; my fingers too refused to write; my beard was stiff with frost, and my breath congealed into a long icicle. I could not write the news I wished.<sup>12</sup>

We must not forget that the '*Itinerarium Antonini*' (fourth century) and the '*Tabula Peutingeriana*' (an ancient map, perhaps of the fourth century, or earlier, so called from the name of its owner in the sixteenth century) trace or describe a road from Milan to Basel by the Great St. Bernard, Vevey, and Avenches; but it is doubtless to this crowd of pilgrims that we owe the first germs of a Swiss guide-book, for the earlier soldiers and missionaries had had to trust to men as guides rather than to books or maps. This is the concise but careful Itinerary of the road from Basel to Aosta, over the Great St. Bernard, drawn up (about 1154) by Nicholas, Abbot of Thingör, in Iceland.<sup>13</sup> We have, too, the shorter notes of Albert of Stade.<sup>14</sup> But it was not only pilgrims who used this pass; for Herr Oehlmann tells us that on their solemn journeys to Rome the Emperors crossed the Great St. Bernard no fewer than nineteen times between 774 and 1196, a twentieth journey being made by Sigismund in 1414—the Brenner, always a formidable rival, at last quite superseding it, for we find that between 793 and 1402 this pass was crossed by the Emperors no fewer than sixty-six times.

In the later Middle Ages we find invalids coming to Switzerland for the sake of the mineral waters. Baden in Aargau became a most flourishing watering-place, and for centuries the resort of many of the real or imaginary invalids of Central Europe. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II., 1458-64), whose journeys are recorded on the walls of the cathedral library of Siena by the brush of Pinturicchio, gives a most entertaining account of the manner of life there, further details of which, especially as to the eighteenth century, are given by Herr Peyer in his very useful work. We note that the first chapel for travellers of a religion different from that of the land was the Protestant church at the Catholic town of Baden, in Aargau, built 1713-14, the forerunner of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Colonial and Continental Church Society chaplaincies and churches now so common in Switzerland. The springs of Pfäfers were discovered in 1242,<sup>15</sup> and Merian in 1642 tells us that the waters were considered very efficacious in the case of dislocated and sprained limbs, particularly in the case of persons 'who have been tortured.' Leukerbad was 'created' by the famous Cardinal Matthew Schinner, Count-Bishop of Sion, who purchased the springs in 1501; but the buildings erected by him were destroyed by a great avalanche in 1518, as were others in 1719. Some of these baths are still visited, mainly by Swiss invalids; but the 'grape cure,' the 'whey cure,' and above all the 'air cure,' have almost superseded them, at least in the eyes of English travellers.

Now some of the readers of this work may wonder why, in a history of Swiss travel, no mention has yet been made of mountain ascents, which nowadays form an indispensable part—if not the whole—of a trip to Switzerland. An answer, however, is forthcoming, and this is that in the Middle Ages people (with very rare exceptions) did *not* climb mountains, for they were very much afraid of them. Crossing passes was bad enough, but it was necessary for travellers approaching Italy by land; willingly, however, to incur fatigue and danger in climbing a peak would have then been looked on as a sign of folly, and is still so considered by some people who have never felt the ‘divine madness’ of mountaineering. The famous ascent of the Mont Ventoux (6,273 feet) in Provence made by Petrarch on April 26, 1336, is very nearly the only known exception to this rule.<sup>16</sup> The case of Mount Pilatus, near Lucerne, is, however, typical. According to the legend, the spirit of Pontius Pilate, after his suicide, had roamed restlessly over sea and land, till at length a wandering scholar prevented his devastation of the neighbouring country by extorting his consent to remain quietly in the lake on the mountain which now bears his name. On Good Friday only was he allowed to rise from the waters; but at other times men shouting near the lake or throwing stones into it roused his unquiet spirit, and a terrible convulsion of nature followed. The Government of Lucerne, therefore, forbade all strangers to approach the lake, and in 1387 six bold men who had broken

this regulation were imprisoned for a long time in consequence of their reckless conduct.

It was only in the second stage of Swiss travel that mountain climbs became usual. In 1518 four scientific men—Vadianus (Joachim von Watt) of St. Gallen, Xylotectus (Zimmermann), of Lucerne, Myconius (Geissshäusler), of Lucerne and Grebel—by special leave visited the lake, and ascended the peak. They did not suffer any punishment at the hands of Pilate,<sup>17</sup> nor did Duke Ulrich of Württemberg, who repeated the ascent the same year. The famous ascent made on August 21, 1555—again by special leave of the Lucerne magistrates—by Konrad Gesner and his friends is one of the great turning points in the history of Swiss travel, as it marks the end of the period when fancied terrors kept men far from the mountains, and was made for scientific purposes, and to extend the domain of human knowledge. Gesner himself (1516–1565), first a professor of Greek, then of physics, and specially famous as a botanist, is a type of the best side of the Renaissance and Reformation period, full of curiosity to investigate the secrets of nature, as well as of simple faith in the God to Whom they owed their existence. His words in a letter to his friend Avienus (Vogel of Glarus) in 1541 may be quoted here: <sup>18</sup>—

I am resolved henceforth, most learned Avienus, that, as long as it may please God to grant me life, I will ascend several mountains, or at least one, every year, at the season when the flowers are in their glory, partly for the sake of examining them, and partly for the sake of good

bodily exercise and of mental delight. For how great a pleasure, think you, is it, how great a delight for a man touched as he ought to be, to wonder at the mass of the mountains as one gazes on their vastness, and to lift up one's head as it were amongst the clouds? The understanding is deeply moved, I know not wherefore, by their amazing height, and is driven to think of the Great Architect Who made them. . . . Those who long after wisdom will go to enjoy with the eyes of the body and of the mind the wondrous sights of this earthly paradise: amongst which very far from the least are the soaring and rugged mountain summits, the untrodden precipices, the huge mountain sides which rear themselves towards heaven, the frowning crags, and the thick forests.

In the sixteenth century, too, the topography of Switzerland was first accurately studied and elaborated, the later work of Matthew Merian, of Basel (1642), to be mentioned again presently, standing at the head of the list of books on this subject. Rhellicanus celebrates his ascent of the Stockhorn, near Thun, in 1536, in flowing Latin hexameters, and Rebman wrote a metrical dialogue (dated 1605, enlarged edition 1620) between that peak and its neighbour the Niesen, in which the peaks discuss, *inter alia*, the men living at their base with a delightful unconsciousness that the descendants of those men could ever be daring enough to disturb their loneliness by coming in great numbers. The mountains were becoming better known and appreciated, when the terrible shock of the 'Thirty Years' War (1618-48) checked for a time this new tendency.

The true heir of Gesner is Scheuchzer. What

the former had done on a small scale the latter was able to do on a vastly larger one. Scheuchzer made nine extended journeys (1702-11, none in 1708) through his fatherland, noting all that came in his way, particularly scientific curiosities, and was in many respects a good type of the traveller who goes about with his eyes open. His narratives of his journeys of 1702-3-4 were issued in two separate works dated respectively 1702 (Zürich, 1702 journey only) and 1708 (London, 1702-3-4 journeys),<sup>19</sup> while those of all his journeys were finally collected in a fat quarto of 635 pages (4 vols. in one, paged continuously), published at Leyden in 1723. It is dedicated to the Royal Society of London, of which he was a Fellow, and all the plates illustrating the journeys of 1702, 1703, and 1704, bear inscriptions stating that they were engraved at the expense of such and such a Fellow of the Royal Society, or other distinguished personage, Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Hans Sloane, Halley, and Dean Aldrich being included in the number. It must not, however, be thought that Scheuchzer had got rid of all belief in marvellous freaks of nature. The delightful pictures of dragons<sup>20</sup> and the grave and sober accounts of the appearances of such monsters to honest men worthy of belief disprove this. But, for all that, Scheuchzer is entitled to be held in honour by all travellers, for whom he greatly smoothed the way by his labours, though rather as a painstaking collector of facts than as a sound philosopher. Scheuchzer's very keen (if to our minds somewhat uncritical) interest in the mountains of his

native land is perhaps best illustrated by an important section (No. 125) in his '*Stoicheiographia*' (1716), which extends from page 157 to page 224 of that work, of which it forms nearly one third. This is a most elaborate and careful alphabetical catalogue of all the peaks, passes, glaciers, pastures, Alpine ranges and villages, of which he had ascertained the existence, whether from personal experience or from books. The Latin names are given as well as the German, and under each head many most interesting details are collected. It sums up the knowledge of the mountains possessed by the most prominent of their explorers before the ice world had been more than touched, and contains much precise information which even now is very interesting. This list, in fact, is a sort of early dictionary of mountains—a forerunner, in short, of the indices to Mr. Ball's '*Central Alps*.' I am desirous of attracting attention to it, as its importance does not seem to have been hitherto recognised. Of course, its value consists rather in the way in which it brings together all known information under each entry than in first-hand original observations.

These general descriptions, though very interesting and valuable in themselves, are not, however, guide-books, properly so called. A guide-book differs from a narrative of a journey in that the former describes things in the way best adapted for use on the spot by travellers, while the latter describes the

actual course of a real journey. A guide-book is, however, largely dependent for material on narratives of travels. It is not always easy to draw this distinction, or to preserve it when drawn, especially when we are dealing with books published before 1800. Two works, however, neither of them a personal narrative of an actual journey, but partaking of the nature both of such a description and of a guide-book in the strict sense, may be described here, and may serve as a bridge from the first general descriptions of Switzerland to the first Swiss guide-books.

These are the 'Commentarius de Alpibus' (originally published in 1574) of Josias Simler (1530-1576), of Zürich, and the 'Topographia Helvetiæ, Rhetiæ et Valesiæ' (first published in 1642) of Matthew Merian (1593-1650), of Basel, and Martin Zeiller (1589-1661), of Ulm.

Simler's treatise fills 169 pages in the 24mo. Elzevir edition of 1633, which also contains his essay on the Valais (mainly based on Stumpf's account, one of the best and fullest in his chronicle), and some smaller tracts. It is historically of very great importance, for it describes in considerable detail the different districts of the Alpine chain, and is particularly interesting to mountaineers by reason of the chapter (pp. 280-96) on the difficulties and dangers of travelling in the Alps. It is in this chapter (which is well worth reading as a whole) that for the first time sound practical advice is given as to the precautions to be adopted when making excursions above the snow-line. Simler distinguishes four kinds of Alpine diffi-



culties and dangers : (1) the narrowness or steepness of the paths themselves (pp. 280-84) ; (2) ice (pp. 284-88) ; (3) snow, especially avalanches (pp. 288-92) ; (4) cold winds and storms (292-96). Mr. Freshfield has called attention<sup>21</sup> to some of his statements on these matters ; but as these classical passages appear to be still but little known, though of extreme interest to all climbers who care for the past history of their art, I make no apology for giving them at length in a work relating to the early history of mountaineering. They sum up the results of the experience of the sixteenth-century climbers, whom we honour as our Alpine forefathers, and show the beginnings of an interest in the exploration of the higher regions of the Alps. The first passage describes crampons, alpenstocks, glissading, and tobogganing. 'Precipitous and rugged places further increase the difficulty of Alpine paths, and particularly if the tracks are covered with ice, for which reason the travellers and the shepherds, as well as the hunters who frequently roam over the highest mountains, provide for their safety by various precautions. To guard against the slipperiness of the ice, these people are accustomed to tie iron shoes, like those of horses, and furnished with three sharp prongs, securely to their feet, so that they may get firm foothold on the ice ; others furnish the thongs, by which the sandals are tied under the foot, in the same way with a very sharp iron spike, and employ other means in order to resist the slipperiness of the ice and to improve their footing. In some places they use staves tipped with an iron point, and, resting their weight on them, are

in the habit of ascending and descending steep slopes. These staves they call alpenstocks, and they are chiefly used by shepherds. Sometimes also shepherds and hunters let themselves down steep and almost precipitous places, when there is no other way, by cutting down branches from the trees (particularly firs), and then sitting on them as though riding a horse, and thus sliding down. When heavy carts are to be let down difficult places like these, they sometimes lower them by great ropes worked by means of cranes and pulleys.' <sup>22</sup> In certain cases the use of snow-shoes is strongly recommended. 'Further, those who wish to walk over deep snow, in places where there are no paths, make use of the following expedient to prevent themselves from sinking in. They tie to their feet small and thin wooden boards or wooden hoops (such as are used in binding wine casks) woven together by a sort of lattice-work of cord of a foot in diameter. In this fashion, as they make larger steps, they do not sink in and do not go deep down into the snow.' <sup>23</sup>

Cold and snow blindness are two of the great inconveniences that travellers in snowy regions have to guard against. Here are Simler's views on these points: 'Further, amongst other evils, the intense cold is very troublesome to those making a journey through the Alps, especially as long as the north wind is blowing, in consequence of which the limbs of many men often burn by reason of the extreme cold, while in the case of others their ears or noses, or in the case of some persons their fingers or toes, and even the feet

themselves, grow numb by reason of the cold, and die. Many lose their eyes through continually going over snow. Against these evils there are various safeguards. For the eyes, something black should be put over them, or what they call glass spectacles. For other parts of the body it is advisable that they should be well protected against the cold by skins and thick clothes. Paper and parchment protect the breast very well from cold winds; but if the feet are benumbed, at night, when the shoes are taken off, the feet should be bathed in cold water, warm water being gradually poured in; for so they think they are brought round. The best precaution of all is constantly moving about, for it happens sometimes that while ascending a mountain men get heated by their exertions, and think that they feel no cold; but if they sit down in the snow for the purpose of resting themselves drowsiness soon creeps over them, and then with scarcely any feeling of pain they are benumbed and die.' <sup>24</sup>

Most vivid of all the passages in this chapter are those in which Simler explains the proper way of guarding against falling into crevasses. 'Further, that ancient ice, over which one must sometimes make one's way, has deep chasms in it, three or four feet wide, and often even larger, into which if a man fall, he must without doubt perish. It happens also that these chasms may be covered by fresh snow, or by snow blown together by the wind. Hence those who then travel in the Alps hire men who know the place to go in front as guides. They gird these men with a rope, to which some of those who come after also bind

themselves; the leading man sounds the way with a long pole, and carefully keeps a look-out in the snow for these chasms; but if he unexpectedly falls into one of them, he is held up and drawn out again by those of his comrades who are tied by the same rope as he is. When there is no snow over these pits, there is less danger, but yet they must be crossed by a jump; for there are no bridges here except that sometimes those who lead beasts of burden over such places (which rarely happens) carry wooden planks with them, and lay them before the beasts so that they can cross these chasms by means of a bridge.' <sup>25</sup> The last-named device is said to be practised on the Mer de Glace at Chamonix, and is certainly still in use on the Eismeer at Grindelwald. All these descriptions are marvellously vivid, <sup>26</sup> and the advice most excellent. Simler would clearly not have been a member of that modern school of climbers which looks on the steepest and most dangerous face of every peak as an 'Alpine problem' to be solved at any cost.

We must now turn to the work of Merian, the merit of which lies rather in its numerous (75 views in all) and well-executed copperplates than in the text. The latter covers 72 folio pages, and was written by Martin Zeiller (though his name does not appear on the title-page or in the body of the book), who wrote, between 1632 and 1661, the letterpress for thirty other similar geographical works (generally containing illustrations by Merian), mostly entitled 'Topographia,' <sup>27</sup> a name later superseded by 'Deliciæ,' 'Anleitung,' 'Handbook,' and 'Pocket Book.' The series of thirty volumes issued

under this title by Merian and his sons began with the 'Helvetia' in 1642, and was brought to a close with the 'Italia' in 1688, the set forming a stately work of permanent historical value. Merian's numerous illustrations are excellent. They are mainly views of Swiss towns and castles, and are much prized for their accuracy. There is only one of a specially Alpine character, a double-page representation of the Lower Grindelwald glacier (p. 25), a most interesting view, and very fairly accurate, allowing for the fact that glaciers were still looked on as uncanny things. Zeiller supplies half a page of letterpress on the subject, his general ideas on glaciers being taken from Stumpf's Chronicle (first issued in 1546) and Rebman's poem (1620 edition). There is also a large map (rather overcrowded with names) of Switzerland, the Graubünden, and the Valais, made and engraved in 1637 by Hans Conrad Geiger, of Zürich (1599-1674), best known by his map of the canton of Zürich (1668), the 'masterpiece of old Swiss cartography.' Merian's plates were frequently reproduced later, Wagner in his '*Mercurius Helveticus*,' Scheuchzer in his '*Itinera Alpina*,' and Ruchat in his '*Délices de la Suisse*,' making use of them;<sup>28</sup> but of course they are clearest and best in the original edition. The towns had not yet lost their mediæval appearance, and for local history the views are extremely important. A second and revised edition of Merian's work was issued in 1654 (folio, 90 pages and 80 plates). We may take Simler's work as supplying valuable material for the introduction to a guide-book, and Merian's as sug-

gesting the desirability of inserting illustrations in such a book; but neither—though more than descriptions, and *not* personal narratives—is a guide-book, strictly so called, in point of form or of matter.

The first real Swiss guide-book of which the existence is known to me was published in 1684, by J. J. Wagner, the famous Zürich naturalist (1641–95), who in 1680 had put forth his '*Historia Naturalis Helvetiæ Curiosa*,' a little 12mo., which was the first purely scientific work on Switzerland. This first Swiss guide-book bore the title of '*Index Memorabilium Helvetiæ*,' and took that of '*Mercurius Helveticus*' in its second edition (1688). A third appeared in 1701, and is the one I have examined: a copy of it is in the library of the Alpine Club, and I have lately secured another for my own library.<sup>29</sup> After a preliminary dissertation, filling forty pages, on the topography, history, and political condition of the Confederation, we find that the names of the places (only the larger and more important ones being mentioned) are arranged in alphabetical order, each with a more or less lengthy description, the conclusion being formed by a table of coins current in the Confederation and some itineraries. These short descriptions, from Aigle to Zurzach, fill pages 41 to 229 of the book, and it is in this part of the work that we find the engravings,<sup>30</sup> nearly every town having one to itself. In fact, it is in this respect a sort of handy Merian. Careful attention is paid to the

antiquities of each place, but towns, castles, and villages are alone described. There are no heads for Interlaken, Grindelwald, or Lauterbrunnen, nor do Chamonix, Visp, or Zermatt appear. Brieg is dismissed in two lines. In short, it is a guide rather to man's works situated within or near the territories of the Confederation than to the beauties of Nature, the appreciation of which did not become general till half a century or so later. Its main interest lies in the fact that it is the parent of every Swiss guide-book since published.

A far more elaborate work is the '*Délices de la Suisse*,'<sup>31</sup> in four 12mo. volumes, published at Leyden in 1714 by Peter Van der Aa, Scheuchzer's publisher.<sup>32</sup> It was issued under the fictitious name of 'Gottlieb Kypseler de Münster,' the real name of the author being Abraham Ruchat (1680-1750), a 'pasteur' at Aubonne and Rolle, later Professor of Theology at the Academy of Lausanne, and author of '*A History of the Reformation in Switzerland*' (1727-28). It ran through several editions, the latest which Von Haller mentions being the quarto (2 vol.) issue of 1778. The second and later editions were enriched by a dissertation on '*L'État de la Suisse*,' mainly translated and adapted from a book published at London in 1714, in English, and anonymously, but really by Abraham Stanian, or Stanyan, the English envoy to the Confederation for eight years or more.<sup>33</sup> There are many illustrations and views, mainly of towns and buildings. The matter of the '*Délices*' is arranged in an amusingly complicated fashion, corresponding to the

intricate political condition of the Confederation in those days. After a general topographical description come the thirteen full cantons in strict order of precedence, each divided into its bailiwicks and minor districts. These are followed by the 'subject' districts ruled in common by all or some of the thirteen cantons, and then by the 'allies' of the Confederation in due order. The information is no longer arranged in alphabetical order; the scheme is rather hard to grasp, and one must frequently resort to the excellent index given at the close. Roughly speaking, it is the historical, political, and scientific departments which are most carefully looked after—matters so much neglected by modern Swiss guide-books that Herr Peyer (p. 164), in despair, declares that the guide-books of to-day are far inferior in point of all-round completeness to those of the eighteenth century. There is a whole section devoted to the 'Alps' in the Introduction. The obligations of the compiler to Wagner and Scheuchzer are acknowledged in the preface.

As the eighteenth century advanced, Albrecht von Haller's poem ('Die Alpen,' 1732) and Rousseau's writings ('La Nouvelle Héloïse,' 1760, 'Confessions,' 1766-70) popularised the 'playground' view of Switzerland; but these authors were content to admire great mountains from below, leaving the task of ascending them to such men as the Delucs, Bourrit, De Saussure, and the monk Placidus à Spescha of



Dissentis, and of describing them to Altmann, Gruner, Bourrit, the Delucs, Bordier, and De Saussure.<sup>34</sup>

The higher regions now began to be explored. The ascent of the Titlis by an Engelberg monk in 1739, of the Buet by the brothers Deluc in September 1770, and of the Vêlan by M. Murith, prior of the Great St. Bernard Hospice, on August 31, 1779, are the first three recorded ascents of snow peaks in the Alps. The glaciers of Mont Blanc attracted attention, as they were visible from Geneva, and soon supplanted those of the Bernese Oberland, which had up to this time been the only ice-streams personally examined by Swiss men of science. Here, however, a popular error must be guarded against, for it is still not uncommonly said that Chamonix<sup>35</sup> was 'discovered' by the English travellers Pococke and Windham in 1741.<sup>36</sup> It is quite true that they were the first men who visited it *as tourists*; but there had been a Benedictine priory there since the early thirteenth century (of which the cartulary and a detailed history have lately been published<sup>37</sup>), and the bishops of Geneva penetrated thither as far back as 1411 to hold their Visitations, St. Francis de Sales, in 1606, having but followed the example of his predecessors in that see.

The first approach to a special guide-book of an Alpine district of Switzerland is a little work by Pfarrer Samuel Wytttenbach (1748-1830), which was published in 1777. It was issued at Bern in German

and in French, Von Haller (i. 441-42, No. 1472) as usual giving us full bibliographical details of each edition. The German edition fills only twenty-four octavo pages, and is entitled 'Kurze Anleitung für diejenigen, welche eine Reise durch einen Theil der merkwürdigsten Alpgegenden des Lauterbrunnenthals, Grindelwald und über Meyringen auf Bern zurück, machen wollen'; the title suggests that it deals only with the regular Oberland round, an idea which is confirmed by the description given in Ebel's 'Anleitung' (i. 1-2). The French edition consisted of twenty-eight octavo pages, and had a much shorter and less descriptive title: 'Instruction pour les Voyageurs [so Wyss, not 'Etrangers,' as Von Haller says] qui vont voir les Glaciers et les Alpes du Canton de Berne,' of which an edition issued in 1787 was enlarged to forty pages (8vo.). I have been able to examine a copy of the 1787 French edition of this pamphlet, through the kindness of Mr. Schuster. According to the preface it is meant as a handy substitute for the more cumbrous works of Scheuchzer and Gruner. After some preliminary advice as to the outfit of the traveller, the regular Oberland round is described from Bern by Interlaken, Lauterbrunnen, Wengern Alp, Great Scheidegg, Brienz, and so back to Bern. The Staubbach and the 'Jungfrauhorn' are specially mentioned as the sights of Lauterbrunnen. Two excursions to or on the glaciers are described, and in both cases the travellers are warned to take the greatest precautions against the numberless dangers which beset them there. One is the visit to the

Steinberg Alp and Breithorn glacier, which will take a whole day from Lauterbrunnen and back ; the other is to the Lower Grindelwald glacier, the most daring persons sometimes pushing on to the Bänisegg, or even to the Zäsenberg. The pass over the Wengern Alp is described in glowing terms, but the path is said to be barely possible for horses except at the cost of great inconvenience, a statement probably based on personal experience in 1771, since Wytttenbach and his friend Von Bonstetten were the first travellers who are known to have made this pass (Wyss, French edition, ii. 121 ; German, 523). At Grindelwald mention is made of the old pass to the Valais, and of the old bell still preserved in Grindelwald (see '*Alpine Journal*,' xiii. 130). At Meiringen there are several other expeditions suggested and briefly described—the Grimsel and then the Furka to Uri, or the Gries to Italy ; the Joch Pass to Engelberg, where the monks were very hospitable ; and the Brünig to Lucerne. The round from Bern and back is estimated to require four days, or possibly only three : Lauterbrunnen, Grindelwald, Tracht (close to Brienz), and Thun being the night quarters recommended. Herr B. Studer (p. 447) says that Wytttenbach personally visited many parts of the Bernese Oberland, and, as we shall see presently, he was a great guide-book maker and adapter.

As the Mont Blanc district was the first explored in detail, so it was the first to be made the subject of a special guide-book of any pretensions to completeness, such as that published at Lausanne in 1790

under the title of 'Itinéraire de la vallée de Chamonix, d'une partie du Bas-Valais et des montagnes avoisinantes' (12mo. 239 pages), which is very fairly complete, and most businesslike. The author was, as appears from the preface, J. P. Berthout van Berchem, a man of Dutch descent, but, like his father, one of the ornaments of the 'Société des Sciences Physiques,' of Lausanne, of which he was secretary. He reproduces De Saussure's panorama from the Buet, and gives a reduced copy of the map of Chamonix and the neighbouring glens, which was executed by Henri Abram Exchaquet (1742-1814), the 'directeur des fonderies du Haut Faucigny.'<sup>38</sup> This is largely taken up, according to Herr Studer (p. 540), with mineralogical matters, and is based on De Saussure's 'Voyages dans les Alpes.' The book is dedicated to De Saussure. It contains a minute description of the route to Chamonix from Geneva by Bonneville, Sallanches, and Servoz, and directions for making excursions to the Brévent, Montanvert, Chapeau, Source de l'Arveiron, Jardin, Plan des Aiguilles, besides the 'grandes courses' of the Col du Géant and of Mont Blanc. From Chamonix the traveller is given his choice of going to Martigny either by the Col de Balme or by Valorsine (the Tête Noire), the guide-book concluding with the description of the Buet, and of the routes from Servoz up that peak and the Brévent. Nearly forty pages at the end are taken up by an elaborate and detailed catalogue (based on the notes of Professor Struve) of geological specimens from Mont Blanc and the neighbouring ranges. Among

the notices, at the end, of certain natural history objects which can be purchased from M. Struve and M. Exchaquet, it is curious to read (p. 232) of a relief of the Chamonix Valley. Here is the description of this very curious and remarkable work: 'No. 5. Relief de la vallée de Chamonix et des chaînes de montagnes qui la bordent. Il a un pied, 7 pouc. 6 lig. de longueur, sur 11 pouc. de largeur. Le bas de la pièce est supposé le niveau de la mer et l'échelle est d'une ligne pour 34 toises. Ce relief est en bois d'arole et colorié. Il représente les rochers, les glaciers et tous les chemins, sentiers, bois et hameaux de ces montagnes; on a aussi indiqué les divers endroits où se trouvent les fossiles de la collection (sc. à vendre). Le prix est de huit louis et quart.' It would be interesting to know whether any copies of this relief—now nearly 100 years old—are still in existence. On page 231 of the same work a similar relief of the St. Gotthard mountains is announced as in preparation.<sup>39</sup> In this work there appears, apparently for the first time in a guide-book, an account of the ascent of Mont Blanc, summarised from De Saussure's narrative.<sup>40</sup>

Next comes the first edition of that enthusiastic climber Marc Théodore Bourrit's '*Itinéraire*,' of which the date is 1791. The second edition came out in 1792 (a copy of it is in the Alpine Club Library), and bears the title '*Itinéraire de Genève, Lausanne et Chamouny*,' which was that of the first edition, and was extended in the 1808 issue to that of '*Itinéraire de Genève, des Glaciers de Chamouni, du Valais et du*

canton de Vaud.' The third edition, a copy of which is in my possession, is dated 1808, and is a great advance on the 1790 book, describing the early Alpine history of Mont Blanc in considerable detail, though the indefatigable author was never himself successful, despite numerous very plucky attempts, in setting his foot on its summit. The whole scheme is that of the 1790 book, but executed in greater detail and with greater accuracy. In addition, it includes the 'Tour du Mont Blanc,' the Cramont, the Great St. Bernard, and the Col de la Fenêtre, besides descriptions of the new Simplon road, Sion, Bex, Vevey, and Geneva. It forms a 12mo. volume of 352 pages, published at Geneva by J. J. Paschoud, but has no map or illustrations. As far as I have been able to ascertain, this work has entirely escaped the notice of Von Haller or of Herr B. Studer. The 1809 Ebel (i. 2) says of it that the sections treating of Geneva are very useful, but the rest of the work less so; while the 1818 (French) Ebel says that it is a good and useful book for the districts of which it treats. It is clear, however, that this guide-book did not satisfy all wants, for in the narrative of the accidental death of M. Eschen on the Buet on August 7, 1800 (the first recorded accident to a tourist in the snow regions), we are told that vol. iii. of De Saussure's 'Voyages' was found on him.<sup>41</sup>

These were the first three regular guide-books to special Alpine districts that were ever published. They are consequently of great historical interest; but are simply the forerunners and vanguard of a

host of similar publications which appeared between the years 1790 and 1815, for a full account of which I must refer my readers to Herr Studer's book, pp. 539-55. Many of them are most interesting to those who are working up the history of a limited district; but in a sketch such as I am trying to give here they cannot find any place and can receive only this passing allusion.

Returning to the subject of general guide-books, we come to the chief general Swiss guide-book of the pre-Ebelian era. This was a work published in octavo at Zürich (2 parts, 1787-89; 2nd edition, 1790-91; 3rd edition, 1796)—the '*Handbuch für Reisende durch die Schweiz*,' of which the French translation (issued in 1790) was called '*Manuel de l'Etranger qui voyage en Suisse*.' It was incorporated with Ebel in 1818. Ebel (i. 1) speaks in very high terms of it, though allowing that it has some defects. I possess copies of the three editions, but that of the first edition has now no preface, and perhaps never had, since the author tells us in the preface to the second edition that the work was published anonymously. The preface to the second edition is signed 'H. H. . . .', while that to the third has the full name 'H. Heidegger.' The title-pages of the second and third editions state that these new issues have been largely increased in size and much improved.

In my copy of the first edition, the second part is dated 1790, and is no doubt a copy of the second

edition, with which it agrees in every particular. The first part of the 1787 edition contains 200 pages of Itineraries (reckoned in *Stunden*), starting from Zürich, Bern, Lucerne, Altdorf, Schwytz, Sarnen, Zug, Glarus, Basel, Freiburg, Solothurn, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell. (The author apologises, on the ground of want of space, for omitting the routes from St. Gallen, Chur, Sion, Mulhouse, Bienne, Neuchâtel, Geneva, and Porrentruy, some of which can be ascertained by combining one or more of those given.) These Itineraries are the foreshadowing or first sketch of the system of 'routes' now so commonly adopted in guide-books, which, so far as I know, was not carried out in detail until the first edition of 'Murray' in 1838.

The second edition (pp. xvi. 184, 191) is made up of two distinct portions, each filling a volume. The first volume contains a set of Itineraries to various places in Switzerland, starting in succession from the chief towns of the thirteen cantons (arranged in strict order of precedence), as well as to St. Gallen, Chur, and Geneva, more details being given than in the first edition, and the pages being more closely printed. Among the routes starting from the latter place is one taking the traveller to Martigny by way of Sallanches, Chamonix, and either the Col de Balme or Tête Noire, the excursions from Chamonix (including the Col du Géant to Courmayeur) being described in considerable detail (the whole route fills pages 175-81), and greatly relieving the monotony of this volume. The second volume contains an alphabetically arranged



dictionary of places in Switzerland (in the strict sense), some of the articles being very elaborate and giving many (a hostile critic said too many) historical details. There is a fairly full account of Grindelwald (pp. 63–64), but Lauterbrunnen gets only half a line under the head ‘Lütschinen (Zwey)’; while under ‘Visp’ (p. 150) there is not the slightest allusion to the Zermatt or Saas valleys. Some tables of the coins current in the different parts of the Confederation, and a list of the Latin forms of the names of certain important towns and districts, are placed at the close of this volume. In the preface there are some hints given for a foot journey of eight to ten days, starting from Zürich, while Coxe’s and Bourrit’s works are specially recommended; but by far the greater part of the introduction is taken up with a reply to a hostile criticism published in the ‘Schweizerische Bibliothek’ in 1791 (i. 24–31). Among other things the reviewer pointed out that the author had not given the names of the inns. Heidegger defends himself by urging that in small places there is no inn, or only one, in which case the name is of no consequence; while in the towns the same inn varies much at different times, so that in recommending any house in particular, one might be drawing away custom from that which is really the best. Whatever may be thought of this reply, it is certain that the omission of this feature—so conspicuous in modern Swiss guide-books—strikes one at the present time as very odd. A small and very rough map is given at the end of the second volume. A supplement was published in

1792, of which the titles of the German and French editions were : 'Ueber das Reisen durch die Schweiz, oder kurze Anleitung für Ausländer,' and 'Avis sur les Voyages en Suisse, ou Instructions succinctes pour les Voyageurs.'

This supplement fills sixty-eight pages of the third (1796) edition (pp. lxxii. 198, 207), and forms the most considerable addition to it, although the book had been revised throughout. The passage relating to Chamonix is unchanged ; in fact, the only alteration in the Itineraries is the addition of Neuchâtel and Constanz to the list of places from which routes to other places are described. At the end of vol. i. some new tables are placed, giving information as to the area and population of the thirteen cantons, of their 'allies' and of their 'subject-lands.' In the second volume the descriptions of Grindelwald and Visp are unaltered, but 'Lauterbrunnen' appears as a separate article, in the three lines of which room is found for a mention of the 'beautiful waterfall, the Staubbach.' The map is considerably improved, though still rather rough, and is placed between the Introduction and the Itineraries. The Preface recommends Ebel's guide-book, which had come out since the last edition of Heidegger, and it is explained that the present work is meant for those who wish to see the marvels of nature only in Switzerland, rather than for the foreigners who desire to travel all over the country.

The supplement of 1792, which stands as the Introduction of the 1796 edition, deserves special

attention, and reminds us in many ways of Wyttenbach's 1787 '*Instruction pour les Voyageurs*,' noticed above. In it the short hints for a trip given in the 1790-91 edition are expanded and much improved, while the author condescends so far to break through his rule of not mentioning inns, as to occasionally state that there is an inn in such or such a place, though he still does not deign to give its name. First of all comes some excellent advice as to the delights of travelling on foot, and as to the best way of avoiding various inconveniences, great stress being laid on the necessity of having a stout pair of nailed boots, gaiters, and a strong alpenstock. Then comes some information as to the '*Alps*' in the strict sense of the word (that is, the mountain pastures), the snow and ice region (short and disappointing, though it is stated that half of Switzerland is made up of snow and ice), and avalanches, as well as to the geological and zoological features of the land. The remaining forty-eight pages are taken up by a very careful description of a scheme for a fortnight's journey through Switzerland, and are obviously intended to serve as a sort of handy practical guide, to be carried in one's pocket. It is largely based on the personal experience of the author. Starting from Zürich, the traveller is advised to proceed to Lucerne, where he is to make an excursion on the lake,<sup>42</sup> possibly pushing as far as the St. Gotthard. In the latter case he may reach Engelberg by the Surenen Pass, whereas less adventurous persons may return to Stanz and proceed up the valley to that village. When describing

the neighbourhood of the monastery, mention is of course made of the Titlis, and its second ascent (September 14, 1785) by Dr. Feierabend (physician of the abbot) with two monks and many other companions is described in considerable detail.<sup>43</sup> Ebel, too (in 1804 and 1809) dwells on this ascent, which seems to have created as great interest in Central Switzerland as the first ascent of Mont Blanc, made about a year later, did amid the learned men of Geneva. It is in connection with Engelberg also that a full account is given of Alp-life and of the mysteries of cheese-making. From Engelberg the traveller is strongly urged to cross the Joch Pass to Meiringen, making an excursion to the Grimsel on the way, though less energetic persons may make the round by Stanz and the Brünig. At Meiringen the traveller is again invited to choose between the beautiful but rather arduous route to Grindelwald over the 'Grindelwald Scheideck,' and that by the lake of Brienz, Unterseen, and Zwei Lütshinen—Heidegger, as usual, strongly recommending the mountain journey. Lauterbrunnen is the next point to be gained, whether by the 'Lauterbrunnen Scheideck' (or Wengern Alp) or round by Zwei Lütshinen. The mountains are then left by way of the lake of Thun and Thun itself. Then one can go to Bern and Solothurn, and visit the watchmakers of Neuchâtel on the way to Basel. Heidegger, however, warmly recommends that from Thun the traveller should go by way of the Simmenthal, Saanen, and Sepey, to Bex and Martigny, whence

Chamonix can easily be reached, and so finally Geneva. Such was the 'regular Swiss Round' near the end of the eighteenth century, and it is curious to see how very nearly it corresponds with the route commonly followed even now, nearly one hundred years later.

Heidegger's book was the principal general Swiss guide-book before the appearance of that of Ebel, and his three editions (like the first of Ebel) are particularly valuable and interesting as describing Switzerland just before the great change in 1798, by which the whole political system of the country was entirely transformed, after an existence of nearly five hundred years. After 1796, the book was reprinted several times with slight modifications. In 1818, Glutz-Blotzheim issued a guide-book in one volume, which was mainly a revised and corrected edition of Heidegger, though there was also a certain admixture of Ebel, and henceforth the two works of Heidegger and Ebel are fused into one.

Next in point of date come two works with very similar titles. These are the '*Guide du Voyageur en Suisse*' (Lausanne, 1788; 2nd edition 1790), and the '*Guide des Voyageurs en Suisse*' (Paris, 1790). Ebel, even in his first edition in 1793, carefully distinguishes them. He states that the former is translated from the English, but that the latter is the better book of the two, though both are very incomplete and unsatisfactory. Herr Peyer (p. 159), describing a book (bearing the latter title) issued at Paris and Geneva in 1791, states that it contains 390

pages, and that the matter is no longer arranged alphabetically, but according to a scheme for an imaginary journey starting from Geneva, and that it describes many excursions from various places selected as headquarters. I have not come across a copy of the Paris 1790-91 book. It is, however, described at length in the 1791 periodical called '*Schweizerische Bibliothek*' (i. 111-23), whence it appears that it had an introduction of 60 duodecimo pages, while the main text filled 391. It was much fuller and better than the 1788 book, and was an independent production, apparently by a Swiss writer. Of that originally issued at Lausanne in 1788 I possess a copy. It is the third edition, '*corrigée et augmentée*,' is dated August 1794, entitled '*Guide du Voyageur en Suisse*,' and was published at Lausanne as a 12mo. of 204 pages. It is historically very important, not so much because of the matter contained in it as by reason of the system of itineraries therein contained. The scheme is neither alphabetical, like Wagner, nor political, like the '*Délices*'; but in the itineraries given at the end we detect for the first time in a Swiss guide-book the germs of the arrangement in '*routes*' now adopted in every guide-book. Lausanne is taken as the centre, and the routes thence to the chief Swiss towns are described in detail, including the names of inns. The general information in the book is arranged on the supposition that the traveller starts from Geneva, and makes a '*circular tour*' through the territories of the Confederation—this tour extending as far as

Basel, Zürich, and the Forest Cantons, and ending with the Valais, whence we are brought back to Geneva by way of Chamonix. As is usual in all these early guide-books, while Chamonix is described in detail, Grindelwald and its glaciers are dismissed rather briefly, while Zermatt is not even mentioned. This work seems to be simply a translation of the first edition of 'T. M.'s' (Thomas Martyn) 'Sketch of a Tour through Swisserland,'<sup>44</sup> the text of the two books being almost, if not quite, identical, certain notes as to inns and distances being omitted, and others containing slight corrections inserted. The original first edition did not mention that it was a translation, but a 1788 reprint at Geneva has on its title-page, 'Traduit de l'Anglois,' words which do not appear in the genuine second edition of 1790. The map of 'T. M.'s' book, however, is not in any way represented in the work of his French editor. But in the English work (at any rate in my copy of the 1788 edition) the itineraries of the French translation are wanting, and it is these which are of such great historical importance in the history of Swiss guide-books. In the course of a careful review of the second French edition, in the 'Schweizerische Bibliothek' (i. 107-9) it is stated that these itineraries were not in the first edition, but were added in the second (1790), and are taken, with a few slight alterations, from Heidegger's 'Handbuch'; but the latter statement appears to me to be entirely unfounded, since, after carefully comparing the two books together, I can find nothing to warrant it, for Heidegger's book

does not give any itineraries from Lausanne at all.

There are several other general Swiss guide-books of the pre-Ebelian era of which I can give but a meagre account. In the preparation of two of them Samuel Wytttenbach (1748-1830), a Bernese 'pasteur' and a great contributor to guide-book literature, had the chief share.

A certain Monsieur de Felice, wishing to rival the Paris 'Encyclopédie,' collected a great staff of contributors, and issued a very extensive work (58 volumes, 4to., 1770-1776), entitled 'Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences,' which, from the place of its publication, was popularly known as the 'Encyclopédie d'Yverdun.' Wytttenbach collected together the articles relating to Switzerland, and before the main work was ended issued them under the title of 'Dictionnaire géographique, historique et politique de la Suisse' (Neuchâtel, 1775, 2 vols., 8vo.), and in a German translation, with very large additions and corrections, as 'Historische, geographische und physikalische Beschreibung des Schweizerlandes' (Bern, 1782-84, 3 vols., 8vo.). (This German translation and revision was put back into French in 1788 at Geneva, filling 3 vols., 8vo.). To vol. i. of the German translation (1782) Wytttenbach added a tract or treatise of his own, which is of interest to us. Its title is given differently by the two authorities I am following. Herr Studer (pp. 331, 537-38) gives it as 'Anleitung für Reisende durch die Schweiz'; whereas Herr Rudolf Wolf, in his life of Wytttenbach ('Bio-



graphien zur Kulturgeschichte der Schweiz,' i. 370-71), cites it as 'Kurze Anweisung für diejenigen welche Reisen durch die Schweiz unternehmen wollen.' Von Haller (i. 170, No. 748) speaks of it rather vaguely, and states that it was 28 pages in length. Herr Studer (p. 331) speaks very highly of the 1782-84 and 1788 editions of the 'Dictionnaire,' and goes so far as to say that it was the first guide-book for travellers published since Wagner's 'Mercurius Helvetius.' But, however useful it may be, it is rather a dictionary or encyclopædia than a book for the use of tourists while on their travels.

Monsieur H. Besson, a distinguished French geologist and artist,<sup>45</sup> contributed an introduction, entitled 'Discours sur l'Histoire Naturelle de la Suisse,' to the splendid illustrated work by De Laborde and De Zurlauben, which was published at Paris between 1777 and 1780. This introduction was considerably enlarged by Wyttenbach, who issued it in 1786 (2 vols., pp. 264, 198, 8vo.) under the title of 'Manuel pour les Savans et les Curieux qui voyagent en Suisse, par Mr. Besson, avec des notes par Mr. W. . . .' Its interest is chiefly mineralogical, as M. Besson possessed a magnificent mineralogical collection in Paris, and it is the first guide-book exclusively designed for the use of men of science, though all the early guide-books are largely taken up with matters of science. Herr Studer says (p. 533) that for twenty years it remained unsurpassed in its line.

Of two other guide-books published towards the close of the eighteenth century I can give even fewer

details than in the case of the two by Wyttenbach. One is Reichard's '*Handbuch für Reisende aus allen Ständen*' (1785). Its impending publication is announced with great anticipations by Von Haller (i. p. 176, No. 757). Mr. Freshfield<sup>46</sup> just mentions it, and so does Herr Peyer (p. 165), who adds that another work by the same writer had, in 1831, reached its seventh edition, which seems to show a considerable degree of popularity. The title of this latter book was (according to J. R. Wyss, p. 75 of the German edition of the '*Voyage dans l'Oberland Bernois*') '*Der Passagier auf der Reise in Deutschland, in der Schweiz, zu Paris, und Petersburg*' (Berlin), 140 pages being devoted to a description of Switzerland and issued separately. Wyss, however, thought that Reichard's '*Guide des Voyageurs en Italie et en Suisse*' (Weimar, 7th edition 1813—an 8th announced in 1816) was almost better so far as Switzerland was concerned, 134 closely printed pages being given to that country and the valley of Chamonix. Mr. Marett possesses an English edition ('a new edition' 1819) of Reichard's '*Itinerary of Germany*,' in which we find that in the four or five cases in which routes from towns in Germany to towns in Switzerland (Basel, Schaffhausen, and St. Gall) are described, a reference is given for descriptions of the latter to Ebel's *Guide through Switzerland*.

Finally Von Haller (i. 176, No. 757) announces in 1784 the approaching publication, at Zürich, of an octavo guide-book to be entitled '*Wegweiser für Reisende durch die Schweiz*,' of which the third

edition appeared in 1829 at Aarau, as we shall see presently.

There are doubtless other guide-books of the pre-Ebelian age which have escaped my notice; but those published since the first edition of the '*Délices*' (1714), which I have attempted to describe, show that Swiss travel was becoming popular, and that some guide-book would have to be written to meet all the requirements of the increasing host of visitors to Switzerland whether for political or other reasons.

Such was the state of things when, in 1793, there appeared at Zürich the first edition of what was destined to become, for about half a century, *the* Swiss guide-book. This was the '*Anleitung auf die nützlichste und genussvollste Art die Schweiz zu bereisen*,' by Johann Gottfried Ebel. The first edition filled two small 8vo. volumes. The first volume (pp. 174) contained general information, the second (pp. 211) an alphabetically arranged description of places, the information being very much compressed. This edition has also a view of the Alps from Zürich, views from the Albis, from near Zürich and from the Jura, and a plate figuring 'crampons.' The second edition (1804-5) filled four volumes (one introductory, three containing text), and was much improved.<sup>47</sup> Before the death of the author (1830) the book was compressed into a single volume; while the eighth and last edition (in 734 octavo pages, double columns) appeared in 1843 in very modern style (though still arranged

alphabetically), with outline panoramas from the Rigi and Faulhorn (printed on the same sheet, back to back), a route map, &c., and cost seven French francs. 'Ebel,' therefore, represented to travellers eighty or ninety years ago what 'Murray' and 'Bädeker' are to us now. It is worth while, then, to examine the contents of this guide-book with special care. It is well to bear in mind that while the first edition (1793) describes the complicated political condition of the Swiss Confederation before its overthrow in 1798, the second and third (1804 and 1809) describe the nineteen cantons under Napoleon's 1803 Act of Mediation, and the fourth (1818) deals with the twenty-two cantons as we know them now—though this state of things dates only from the Congress of Vienna, 1814-15; while the seventh (1841) and eighth (1843) describe the country after the great democratic revolution which began in 1830, and before the Sonderbund War in 1847. Let us take the third, revised and enlarged edition (the last before the fusion of Ebel and Heidegger in 1818), in its German form (Zürich, 1809-10, in four volumes, containing 2,167 octavo pages). The first volume is filled with general considerations, such as the advantages of Swiss travel and what there is to see in Switzerland. The 'air cure' is specially insisted on, and also pedestrian excursions. Precise information is given as to expenses, the best seasons for a trip, the equipment of the traveller, also a table of coins, and a short vocabulary of peculiar Swiss expressions (Swiss-German, Swiss-French, and Romansch), all familiar paragraphs in the guide-books of to-day, which have

based their arrangement of their introductory sections very largely on that of Ebel. The first volume contains, too, a special chapter on climbing, the necessity of taking guides, ropes, poles (*Stangen*, I imagine, to bridge crevasses, not for ordinary use as alpenstocks<sup>48</sup>), or ladders being insisted on, while nailed boots are described in detail, and crampons strongly recommended, a figure and minute account of the best kind being given at the end of vol. i. of each edition. We find, too, advice as to snow-blindness (the use of a piece of blue or green crape over the eyes is recommended, nothing apparently being said about spectacles) and sunburn (bathe the face with a solution of water and volatile alkali), drinking snow-water, &c., as well as a number of sketch routes in Switzerland, and directions how best to reach the country if coming from foreign lands. The volume is completed by a most valuable list of books and maps relating to the country, which is a long way ahead of those in the earlier guide-books, and compares favourably with the same section in any of its successors. In the other volumes the matter is arranged in alphabetical order under the names of the various places; this seems to us a backward step after the advance noted above in the case of the '*Guide du Voyageur en Suisse*' (2nd edition, 1790), but no doubt when Switzerland was less well known to tourists than at present it was convenient to have everything sorted out in this artificial way. The article on '*Glaciers*' is clearly arranged, and extends over eight pages. The description of the valley of Chamonix fills twenty-four pages, while Mont Blanc is

honoured with fourteen more. Lauterbrunnen gets twelve pages, Grindelwald eight. The Visp valleys for the first time in a guide-book come into prominence, having been passed over in the first edition (1793), but now taking up eight pages (as in the edition of 1804), while the article on 'Monte Rosa' (inconveniently entered under 'R,' though Mont Blanc appears under 'M') fills three in each of those of 1804 and 1809. A long account is given of the passage of the St. Théodule, and the Weiss Grat (or Arête Blanche) is mentioned as an 'extremely dangerous' pass from 'Zer Matt'<sup>49</sup> to Macugnaga. Great stress is laid on the magnificent appearance of the Matterhorn.<sup>50</sup> No inn is mentioned at Zermatt, one inn (the name of which is not given) is mentioned at Grindelwald, and it is added that, when it was full, the Pfarrer received strangers. Chamonix had no fewer than three inns, for it was much more visited than either of the other great Alpine centres. The philosophic traveller may amuse himself with discovering the reasons—they are not far to seek—why Zermatt has beaten Chamonix in the race for popularity among mountaineers, and why Chamonix, with such a start as it had, has fallen behind so rapidly and so completely. Ebel does not give illustrations in the text like his predecessors, but he has a handy little map far better than that given in the 1804 edition (in my copy of the 1809 edition it has the engraved date of 1816, and the improved one in the 1818 French edition the date 1829), views of the Rhone glacier and of the source of the Hinter Rhein (now printed in brown ink and improved from the

brightly coloured originals in the 1804 edition), a map of the lakes of Lucerne, Zug, and Zürich, and three mountain panoramas, meant to include all the Swiss Alps, taken from the hills above Zürich and Neuchâtel. These latter, though done in outline only, are fairly accurate and very clear. The frontispiece of vol. i. is a view of the Alps from the town of Zürich. Altogether, one may even now get much valuable information from Ebel, the scientific portions of his work being specially elaborate. In fact, Ebel's book is the first systematic and detailed attempt to supply a handy guide-book to the natural beauties of the more alpine parts of Switzerland, while not neglecting the historical, antiquarian, and scientific (particularly the geological and botanical) sides of the subject. He was born in Prussia, but, through love of the country (which he visited for the first time in 1790), became a Swiss citizen in 1801, and settled down in Zürich, enjoying a great reputation as a geologist. He had a hand in assisting Keller to prepare his great map of Switzerland (1813), and directed his attention to taking panoramic views from mountain-tops (Rigi, 1823). He also, with great energy, collected subscriptions for the building of the first inn on the Rigi Kulm (1816). He died in 1830, at the age of sixty-six. He also published (1798-1802, 2 vols., 8vo.) '*Schilderungen der Gebirgsvölker der Schweiz*,' a book which is mainly concerned with Glarus and Appenzell.<sup>51</sup>

Next in point of date after the first edition of Ebel come four books, about two of which I have no

information beyond what they themselves furnish. One is a work entitled '*Nachrichten für Reisende in der Schweiz*,' published at Bern (8vo., 86 pages) in 1796. It is believed to be by J. G. Heinzmann, who is known to have come from Ulm and to have settled down in Bern as a bookseller and literary man, dying at Basel in 1802. Herr B. Studer (p. 544) mentions only his guide-book to the city and Government of Bern (1794-96), and does not apparently know of this other book or map. Herr Peyer (p. 169) makes a single quotation from the '*Nachrichten*.' It is really a handy and practical guide-book for travellers, giving much information in a small space. Bern leads the way, and each canton of, or region connected with, the Confederation is described successively in sixty-seven pages. The special guide-books for each are named, the principal sights and wonders indicated, as well as the excursions to be made from each centre; but the author has evidently expended most labour on the outline routes from each of these centres to the neighbouring towns and villages, many minute details being given as to the hours at which diligences and the mails start and arrive. Then comes a brief description of certain routes, which are not advised except for those who like rugged mountains and precipices, to explore which a good head and sound wind are required. These 'first-class expeditions' are the Furka, the Grimsel, and the Gemmi, the Great St. Bernard being less perilous. After a table of distances (in Swiss miles) from Basel, Bern, Schaffhausen, and Zürich, to various towns, the book concludes with some general



hints for travellers of all professions and all classes. We are first of all told, in a rather pompous fashion, that a journey in Switzerland is to be undertaken with the object of seeing, not towns, but the wild scenes of nature, and their simple, unspoiled inhabitants. Special works for special departments (including Howard's book on Prisons) are mentioned, as well as newspapers, inns, coins, and mineral springs. The dearness of carriages and inns is much dwelt on. No names of inns are given, for very much the same reason as Heidegger assigns; and the sound advice to travellers on foot is given, not to put up at the most famous but at the most comfortable inns, where they are likely to be better lodged and more hospitably entertained. But, though Heinzmann recommends pedestrian rambles, he is not very favourable to mountain scrambles, for, according to him, they are attended with numerous difficulties and dangers—giddiness, fatigue, overheating, difficulty in breathing, precipices, and the risk of losing one's life. In the delightful reflections on 'mountain journeys,' which fill the last page of the book, we are strongly dissuaded from attempting such breakneck (*'halsbrechend'*) mountains as the Schreckhorn, the Stockhorn, the Grimsel, and the Gemmi (a rather oddly assorted lot, according to our present ideas), for the views from them are not nearly as fine as from lower points far easier to reach, and may be entirely concealed by clouds and mists, while the enjoyment of them is much hindered by piercing winds, and feelings of sickness brought on by sudden cooling down after getting heated during the ascent.

Clearly Heinzmann was still in that early stage of the admiration of nature when lakes and hills were preferred to the 'belles horreurs' of crag and glacier. A large outline map (issued originally in 1795), on which the distances in Swiss miles are marked, Bern being taken as the starting point, accompanies the book. The author tells us that the substance of the 'Nachrichten' had been translated into French under the title of 'Avis aux Voyageurs en Suisse.'

The second is a book in the Alpine Club Library. This is the 'Itinéraire Général de la Suisse, par H. M. ingénieur-géographe' (Luc Sestié, Geneva, 1810). It is a 12mo. of 141 pages, with a preface of ten pages. The first sixty-four pages are taken up with a brief and alphabetically arranged geographical dictionary of Switzerland (from which all scientific information is purposely excluded), while the rest is filled by 133 itineraries (containing only the names of post stations and of the distance of each from the other) within the country and Savoy, besides a few entirely in France or Lombardy, and also the main roads leading into Switzerland from all sides. Among the passes thus indicated we find the Grimsel, the Furka, the Gemmi, the Col de Balme, the Tête Noire, the Mont Cenis, the Simplon, the St. Gotthard, the Great St. Bernard, the Splügen, the Albula, the Bernina, the Finsternünz, &c. An asterisk affixed to a name in any itinerary means that a full description will be found in the earlier part of the book. Accompanying this book is Heinzmann's map of considerable size (mounted on a guard), with certain additions, extending

from Mulhouse to Como, and from Besançon to Coire. On it are marked the routes described in the text. The boundaries of the cantons are shown by coloured lines, while the mountains of the Bernese Oberland and of the St. Gotthard district are represented in far greater detail than in the 1795 issue of the map noticed above. The ranges south of the Rhone valley are still very sketchy, and Mont Blanc is a blank, though the neighbouring range of the Buet is fairly figured. I should be very glad to learn who 'H. M.' was, as up to the present I have been quite unable to ascertain for certain the authorship of this very handy pocket guide-book. Can he have been Henri Mallet (known as Mallet-Prévost, to distinguish him from his brother), an *ingénieur* (1727-1811), who published maps of Geneva (1776) and Vaud (1781), and a little book called '*Manuel Métrologique*' (1802)? I take these details from Studer (pp. 259, 260, 486, 487), who does not, however, allude to the 1810 book.

The third book is the 1829 '*Wegweiser, neuer und vollständiger, durch die ganze schweizerische Eidsgenossenschaft und die benachbarten Länder*' (8vo. Sauerländer, Aarau), the third edition of a 1784 book mentioned above. The advertisement at the end of the German edition of the '*Itinéraire du Voyage à Chamouny*' (1829), p. 197, explains that this little book gave the distances from one place to another, the by-ways or short cuts, names of inns, coins, boat fares, names of guides, &c.—in fact, all sorts of practical information.

The fourth is mentioned by J. R. Wyss ('*Voyage*

dans l'Oberland Bernois,' i. 74 ; German edition, p. 76). It was entitled '*Le Voyageur en Suisse ou Manuel instructif et portatif à l'usage des voyageurs qui se proposent de parcourir ce pays,*' and had recently (i.e. about 1816 or 1817) appeared at Geneva, though the printing had been begun as long ago as 1811. The scheme of the book was that of Heidegger's guide-book—general introduction, itineraries, and table of distances, alphabetical list of towns, &c., and it contained 754 large 8vo. pages. The Preface was signed 'F. B.' I have been quite unable to identify this work, which is certainly distinct from the real or pirated editions of Ebel and Richard.

The great success of Ebel soon brought about translations, adaptations, and imitations. The French version (for such it practically was, as it has small claims to originality) was a duodecimo entitled '*Guide du Voyageur en Suisse, par Richard, ingénieur-topographe.*' I am much indebted to Mr. Marett for permitting me to examine the 1824 edition of this book (a copy of which I have since purchased), which on the face of it seems to be the first edition—it is, at any rate, the earliest I have heard of.<sup>52</sup> I have a copy of the 1830–31 edition, entitled '*Manuel du Voyageur en Suisse.*' Mr. Marett possesses one of the 1840, and I myself own another of the 1843 edition of the same work, the latter two bearing the double title, '*Le Nouvel Ebel*' and '*Manuel du Voyageur en Suisse.*' The 1824 book starts with fifty pages of itineraries bodily taken

—this is openly acknowledged—from the French Ebel of 1818. The main part of the book fills 718 pages (664 in the 1830, 575 in the 1843 edition). Each canton is described separately in a section by itself, every section being preceded by a few pages of practical hints as to coinage, books to consult, roads, inns, principal objects of interest, &c. I have not been able to find out the principle on which the cantons are arranged. Geneva leads the way, followed by Vaud and Valais, while Aargau, Schaffhausen, Lucerne, and Zug bring up the rear. In the 1840 and 1843 editions, the order in which the cantons are arranged differs slightly from the 1824 scheme. Geneva again leads the way, but Bâle, Soleure, and Neuchâtel are the last three in order. The section relating to the Bernese Oberland is textually reproduced (with some omissions) from J. R. Wyss's '*Voyage dans l'Oberland Bernois*' (1817),<sup>43</sup> and that for the Lake of Geneva from Manget—both these loans being acknowledged on the title-page. As usual then, manners and customs are treated in greater detail than is ordinary in current guide-books. Neither copy of the 1824 edition has a map, nor any indication of ever having had one; while the 1830, 1840, and 1843 editions have Keller's map of Switzerland, as well as Wyss's small map of the Oberland, the latter two having besides another small one of Chamonix. On the other hand, the 1824 book has eight drawings printed in brown ink, which re-appear, amidst many new ones, in the 1843 edition, but this time printed in black ink.

The 1830 edition differs in many respects from

that of 1824 and those of 1840 and 1843, probably representing an intermediate stage. The name of Richard only appears on the title-page in a statement that he has contributed many notes, though he signs the 'Observations' on pages 32-33; the words 'Par M. L. G. Ebel' occupying the place of honour. It has the eight engravings in brown ink, and is published by the right man, Audin. Keller's map and an outline one of the Oberland are promised on the title-page, but are unluckily missing in my copy. The 66 pages of introductory matter are entirely different from the same section in any of the other editions of Richard. They are made up of a 'Coup-d'œil sur la Suisse' (topographical, historical, and political), and an essay on travelling in Switzerland, with a few suggestions as to routes—all taken from Glutz-Blotzheim's 1818 edition of Heidegger and Ebel in one volume. Then comes a table of heights of waterfalls, lakes, passes, peaks, and towns, taken from Wyss, two pages of 'Observations' by Richard, and an elaborate account of distances from one place to another in Switzerland (filling 32 pages) from Glutz-Blotzheim. This latter item is divided into 205 outline routes, starting from a number of principal towns (including Aosta) arranged in alphabetical order, and has a general resemblance to the second part of Heidegger's guide-book, noticed above. The main part of the book is taken up by a topographical dictionary, arranged, not like the 1824, 1840 and 1843 editions according to cantons, but alphabetically, like Ebel's, with which it verbally corresponds in almost every case,

allowing for a few abridgments, particularly in the case of all the botanical and geological information. There is a curious note as to the regulations of the Chamonix guides, signed 'G. Downes,' while under the head 'Mont Blanc' there is a list (taken from Reichard, not Richard) of the ascents of Mont Blanc down to Mr. Clissold's in 1822. This book has puzzled me a good deal, for it differs so much from all the other editions of Richard, while yet having in some points a very close connection with them. It cannot be the pirated book mentioned in note 52, for, like the 1824 book, it is published by Audin, whose successor (as we learn from the 1840 and 1843 editions) was Maison; nor can it be merely a French version of Ebel, for the illustrations agree with Richard's and not with Ebel's. The only satisfactory theory that I can form concerning it is that Richard, keeping his old illustrations, adopted Ebel's arrangement, taking the introduction from Glutz-Blotzheim's book of 1818, and possibly deriving hints for improving the text from the 1830 Ebel. Dissatisfied with this scheme, he then, in 1840, reverted to his original plan. In any case the question is mainly one of bibliographical interest, for in all four editions the sections about the Visp valleys and Chamonix are taken from Ebel, and that on the Oberland from Wyss.

The editions of 1840 and 1843 drop Ebel's 'Itineraries,' but the 1843 one adopts his vocabularies of Swiss-German and Swiss-French, and is printed in double columns. In both cases the guide to Switzerland is followed by a short guide to the Tyrol, and is well furnished with views and maps, great stress being

laid on the engraved copy of a reproduction of Keller's map of Switzerland (first issued in 1813, revised in 1833, and long the best general map of Switzerland in existence). Many persons are thanked for contributing to the work, and the preface speaks of earlier volumes in the same series, dealing with France and Italy, stating also that their great success had led to some publishers placing the name on 'de misérables compilations que nous désavouons hautement,' the genuine ones being issued only by M. Maison 'successeur de M. Audin,' 29 Quai des Augustins, Paris. On the second title-page of my copy of the 1843 edition we read, 'Nouvelle édition, revue, coordonnée, mise en ordre et augmentée de 300 articles nouveaux,' while the first (embellished with representations of Swiss costumes—largely hats and bodices) bears the inscription 'Revue d'après Murray.' Now this last inscription raises a most important question in the development of guide-books. 'Murray,' as we shall see presently, differs from all earlier Swiss guide-books in arranging his information according to the well-known system of routes. The prefaces to the 1840 and 1843 'Richards' state that the editor has deliberately rejected the alphabetical scheme of arrangement which was maintained by Ebel in his editions, and goes on to say 'Le Manuel dont nous publions une nouvelle édition a été conçu sur un plan tout différent. On a imaginé des STATIONS qu'on a choisies parmi celles qui sont le plus familières aux *touristes*, et de ces stations on a conduit le voyageur, dans diverses excursions, aux sites qu'il doit visiter de prédilection.' As a matter



of fact, the 1824 arrangement by cantons is still preserved, while a twenty-third chapter (No. 3 in the series) is devoted to 'Promenades à Chamouni. Within each canton, however, certain places are now taken as 'centres d'excursions,' and everything is described in its relation to them—that is, more or less, the system of 'routes.' This new arrangement marks a distinct advance on that of Ebel, and the question I should like to have solved is this: How far is Richard indebted to Murray for the idea? If an edition of Richard, arranged on this plan, exists previous to 1838 (the date of the *editio princeps* of Murray), he is undoubtedly entitled to the credit of having worked out the idea which has been adopted by all succeeding guide-book makers; but I do not think this is very likely. The prefaces of the 1840 and 1843 editions are undated, but some expressions in them point to an earlier date, though later than 1830—the year of Ebel's death. I have been able to learn nothing of the history of 'Richard' between 1830 and 1840 (a copy of the 1835 edition which I saw in a bookseller's catalogue having been unluckily bought before I sent for it), and I should be greatly obliged for a sight of an intervening edition should any of my readers be lucky enough to possess one.<sup>54</sup>

There was also an English edition of Ebel published before 1818, to meet the demands of the growing number of English tourists.

Englishmen were few and far between among the early travellers in Switzerland, though in 1669, 1673,

and 1709, the 'Philosophical Transactions' of the Royal Society contain curious accounts of glaciers,<sup>55</sup> and we owe excellent books on the country to Bishop Burnet (1686) and Archdeacon Coxe (1779). Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, they were seized with the 'Wanderlust,' which was becoming fashionable. An interesting proof of this is afforded by Gibbon's Autobiography. Speaking of his youthful Swiss round in the autumn of 1755, he adds: 'The fashion of climbing the mountains and reviewing the *Glaciers* had not yet been introduced by foreign travellers who seek the sublime beauties of nature.' Again, speaking of his long residence at Lausanne (1783-93), he says, 'I shall add, as a misfortune rather than a merit, that the situation and beauty of the Pays de Vaud, the long habits of the English, the medical reputation of Dr. Tissot, and the fashion of viewing the mountains and *Glaciers*, have opened us on all sides to the incursions of foreigners.'<sup>56</sup> On July 25, 1775, an English mineralogist, Mr. Greville, to the amazement of the natives, had his light calèche driven over the bridge-path of the St. Gotthard Pass. De Saussure happened to be on the pass that very day, and on his return from the ascent of a little peak (just west of and rather lower than the Fibbia) which he calls 'le Fieudo' or 'cime de Fieüt,' met Mr. Greville at the little hospice of the Capuchins and spent the evening with him. His account of Mr. Greville's adventure is worth quoting: 'Il avoit réussi à faire traverser le St. Gotthard à un phaëton léger sans le démonter: cette fantaisie lui coûta fort cher (18 louis)

à cause du nombre d'hommes qu'il falloit dans les pentes rapides, mais la voiture n'essuya aucun accident, et il présenta un spectacle bien nouveau aux habitants de ces hautes vallées.' <sup>57</sup>

The feat was repeated in 1793 by another Englishman, while in 1798 some other English travellers had their chaises carried across the Great St. Bernard, according to the 1804 Ebel (ii. 125-26). A little later Swiss tours must have become quite a common amusement of others besides rich 'milords,' to judge from the opening paragraph (page xiii.) of Mr. Wall's English version of Ebel (1818), which, with the omission of Mr. Recordon's name and address, is reproduced in the 1835 edition. It is as follows: 'Travellers wishing to proceed direct to Switzerland may hear of Mr. Emery, the agent, at Mr. Recordon's, Cockspur-street, Charing-cross; or the White Bear, Piccadilly. The journey is performed in sixteen days, allowing two at Paris, and sleeping every night at some town. The proprietors furnish lodgings and provision. The carriage is roomy and convenient—the passengers are limited to six. One cwt. of luggage is allowed to each, and the charge is only twenty guineas English.' <sup>58</sup> These times and prices do not seem excessive when we bear in mind that at the present time, though one can go by direct route from London to Basel in nineteen hours and a quarter, and to Bern in twenty-two hours, one must pay about five or five and a half guineas first-class fare for being so transported, while provisions are not included, and only fifty-six pounds of luggage are allowed free. Specially worthy of mention

is the Swiss tour made in the summer of 1800 by an English party, a summary of which has been printed in the '*Alpine Journal*' (vii. 431-6). It included a visit to Chamonix, where the regular excursions, including those to the Mer de Glace and the Col de Balme, were made, passages of the Tête Noire and Great St. Bernard (three months after Napoleon), a narrow escape from murder by French soldiers in the Val d'Aosta, as well as the first English traverse of the St. Théodule and visit to Zermatt, whence they went down the valley to Visp, visited Leuk, and returned to Geneva by way of Martigny and the lake. This trip is particularly remarkable because it was made after the great winter campaign in Switzerland and while the war was still raging. It seems, however, to have been a very exceptional case.

The great rush of English tourists came when the Continent was reopened after the battle of Waterloo. Both Shelley and Byron spent the summer of 1816 on the shores of the lake of Geneva. Their famous sail round the lake (June 23 to July 1) is described in a letter of Byron to Mr. Murray dated June 27, and in one of Shelley to Peacock dated July 12. Shelley and his party made an excursion to Chamonix (July 20-26), which he describes in another long letter to Peacock. On his first sight of Mont Blanc, he exclaims, 'I never knew—I never imagined—what mountains were before.' Coleridge had published his celebrated '*Hymn before Sunrise in the Vale of Chamouni*' as long ago as 1802 in the '*Morning Post*' of September 11 (the text being much altered before its republication in

1834), though De Quincey ('Works,' ii. 44) declared that it was plagiarised from a poem by Frederika Brun. It was on July 23 (not June 23 as his editors obstinately maintain) that after a visit to the Source de l'Arvèron and the glacier des Bossons Shelley wrote his great poem on Mont Blanc, of which he says in the preface to the 'History of a Six Weeks' Tour' (1817) that 'it was composed under the immediate impression of the deep and powerful feelings excited by the objects which it attempts to describe; and as an undisciplined overflowing of the soul, rests its claim to approbation on an attempt to imitate the untameable wildness and inaccessible solemnity from which those feelings sprang.' Shelley's experiences of Chamonix were however not all rose-coloured. He says of his guide Ducrée (? Ducroz) that he was 'the only tolerable person I have seen in this country'; and immediately after adds that 'the proprietor' (of the Cabinet of Natural History) 'is the very vilest specimen of that vile species of quack that, together with the whole army of aubergistes and guides, and indeed the whole mass of the population, subsist on the weakness and credulity of travellers, as leeches subsist on the sick.' Yet the spell of the mountains (despite temporary vexations) had enthralled Shelley, as is shown by many touches in 'Prometheus Unbound' (written 1818-19), particularly in Asia's marvellous speech (act ii., scene 3).

It was a little later (September 18-25) in the same year that Byron took his famous journey over the Col de Jaman and through the Simmenthal to Thun,

whence he visited the Staubbach and made the regular Oberland round by the Wengern Alp and Great Scheidegg to Brienz and so back to Thun again. Certain epithets which he applied in his Journal to the wonderful sights which met his eyes have been repeated till they are threadbare. A more important result of his stay in Switzerland (May to October 1816) was the composition of three of his noblest poems—'The Prisoner of Chillon' (June 28), the third Canto of 'Childe Harold' (finished July 4, and published in a separate volume in August), and 'Manfred' (imagined on the Wengern Alp, and finished in April 1817). Byron, like his friend Shelley, preferred Swiss scenery to the Swiss people, for in a letter to Moore (dated from Ravenna, September 19, 1821) he says, in order to justify himself for choosing Pisa rather than Switzerland as his summer residence: 'Switzerland is a curst selfish, swinish country of brutes, placed in the most romantic region of the world. I never could bear the inhabitants, and still less their English visitors; for which reason, after writing for some information about houses, upon hearing that there was a colony of English all over the cantons of Geneva &c., I immediately gave up the thought, and persuaded the Gambas to do the same.'

Byron had been to Chamonix in the August of this same year (compare letters of July 29 and September 30 to Mr. Murray, and those of September 29, 1816, and April 4, 1817, to Mr. Rogers), possibly after hearing from Shelley what wonderful things

were to be seen there. He thought, however, that the Oberland was finer than Chamouni. So on September 29, 'Chamouni and that which it inherits, we saw a month ago: but though Mont Blanc is higher, it is not equal in wildness to the Jungfrau, the Eighers,<sup>59</sup> the Shreckhorn, and the Rose [Rosenlaui] Glaciers'; on September 30, 'I have lately been over all the Bernese Alps and their lakes. I think many of the scenes (some of which were not those usually frequented by the English) finer than Chamouni, which I visited some time before'; and on April 4, 1817, 'I do not think so very much of Chamouni (except the source of the Arveron, to which we went up to the teeth of the ice, so as to look into and touch the cavity, against the warnings of the guides, only one of whom would go with us so close) as of the Jungfrau, and the Pissevache, and Simplon, which are quite out of all mortal competition.'

English travellers, while shuddering at the deeds (reported or real) of Byron and Shelley, nevertheless followed their example in one particular, and it became the 'right thing' to make a pedestrian tour in Switzerland, which meant walking along high roads, or over the lower passes, *not* crossing the higher passes or ascending peaks. One consequence of this increased number of English travellers was the publication of Swiss guide-books in English.

Thus, besides Richard's French recension of Ebel, there was also an English one of what was *the* Swiss guide-book of the early part of this century. The English Ebel is a 16mo. volume of xxviii—548

pages, entitled 'The Traveller's Guide through Switzerland. By M. J. G. Ebel. A new edition, arranged and improved by Daniel Wall, formerly Corresponding Member of the Académie d'Arras, and of the Musée de Paris. With a Complete Atlas. London: Printed for Samuel Leigh, 18 Strand, 1818,' which was priced at sixteen shillings.<sup>60</sup> I have examined the copy in the Alpine Club Library, which has also the atlas containing Keller's map of Switzerland (first issued in 1813) in six sheets, and five plates, which are identical with those given by Ebel, including that of the 'crampons,' a word Englished as 'Cramp Irons.' Mr. Wall's plates have been re-engraved for his edition by Sidney Hall, and oddly enough, like those in the 1818 French Ebel, retain the German names for each object indicated. Mr. Wall, however, gives us, as a frontispiece, a marvellous coloured view of Geneva (with the Salève and the lake), of which one can only say that no doubt it represented the culminating point of the art of 1818—more no one can maintain. Mr. Wall's map is of course very much better than Ebel's, and he adds, at the close of the little volume containing the Atlas, almost the whole of Ebel's German, French, and Romansch vocabulary, substituting English for the Swiss-German equivalents.

In many ways this is an interesting work, and it is historically important, since, apart from the more general works of Stanyan, Burnet, and Coxe, it seems to be the first attempt to write a guide for English visitors to Switzerland. Mr. Wall does not seem, from his preface, to have a very high opinion of Ebel's



book, for though he says that it 'is deemed the best hitherto published,' he at once goes on to say that 'his volume is not only too tedious and voluminous for the perusal even of stationary readers, but is altogether unfit for cursory travellers through Switzerland. The tourist would feel greatly disappointed to meet with merely a *Directory*, be it ever so complete, when he stood in need of a *Guide*.' That this rather harsh judgment is the opinion of a rival is shown by the very next sentence: 'The present work is Ebel's Switzerland in miniature. But, although seen in a convex glass, the resemblance is not less perfect; nay, those imperfections are not discernible in it, which the magnifying concave mirror renders so conspicuous.' Mr. Wall clearly has a good opinion of his own work, though he has to allow that he owes much to Ebel and others, adding, he tells us, much from his own personal observations. A close examination of the book shows that the amount of original matter is but slight, Ebel being practically the sole authority for almost every statement, though his text has been much abbreviated, and the matter arranged in a somewhat different way. The practical hints in Part I. (92 pages) are all taken straight from Ebel, and are followed by several of his more general articles on the Alps, Glaciers, Avalanches, the Simplon, Pilatus, the Rigi, Monte Rosa district, and Gurnigel. In Part II. (pp. 93-220) the Itineraries and elaborate descriptions (except that of the Frontispiece) are simply translated from Ebel. Mr. Wall entitles Part III. (pp. 221-414) 'The Traveller's Guide through Switzerland,' and

says of it, 'The whole of the Third Part is new, and, in this respect, differs from Ebel's work.' This boast is only justified so far as regards the arrangement of the matter, which is taken (with abbreviations) straight from Ebel's alphabetical dictionary of places. It is arranged so as to form a continuous tour, the traveller being supposed to start from Geneva, to visit the lake, and then to go to Neuchâtel, Soleure, Basle, Falls of the Rhine, Constance, St. Gall, Glarus, Zürich, Baden, Berne, Fribourg, Simmenthal, Bernese Oberland, the Forest Cantons, the St. Gotthard, Tessin, the Grisons, the Oberalp Pass, the Furka, the Grimsel, the Valais, the Great St. Bernard, Val de Bagnes, and Chamonix, thus working back to Geneva. The scheme is ingenious, and far more interesting than an alphabetically arranged list. The rest of the book (pp. 415-548) is taken up by a topographical dictionary in alphabetical order, greatly abridged from Ebel, and minus some of the longer articles transferred to Part I. or to Part III. Thus we find that the long article in Ebel on the Visp Valleys is replaced by a few lines of general description; and Zermatt only gets a passing mention under the heading 'Matterthal.' The Zermatt valley, however, is thus described (p. 384) under its ancient name:—

'A place which may perhaps interest the tourist is THE VALLEY OF PRABORGNE, which communicates with that of St. Nicholas. It is bounded by enormous glaciers, which descend to the bottom of the valley. The village of Praborgne is very lofty: it overlooks these glaciers from an immense height. Its climate

is nearly as warm as that of Italy; even plants of the warm countries are gathered at a considerable height above the glaciers, which is a rare occurrence in Switzerland; they are often gathered below the glaciers, but seldom above.' This bit is, as far as I can ascertain, one of the purple patches sewn by Mr. Wall on the common homespun of Ebel, and is the earliest published mention in English of Zermatt that I have come across (for the narrative of the 1800 English party alluded to above was not published till 1876). Elsewhere (p. 463) he describes the Matterhorn (Cervin or Sylvio) as 'the most slender and sharp-pointed needle in the chain of the Alps.' We are told of Grindelwald that the village is 'very pretty' (p. 321), and that it 'is the most convenient and least dangerous place a tourist can select to observe the glaciers' (p. 444), for (p. 321), 'as they are easy of access, and exhibit a finer specimen of nature, both in its cultivated and savage state, than any of the others, they are more celebrated than any in Switzerland, though by no means the most beautiful or the most considerable: but the most interesting objects are not always admired or sought after in proportion to their merits; as they are beyond the reach of the generality of mankind, they are consequently too often depreciated by them.'<sup>61</sup> The Lauterbrunnen valley is, we are told (p. 455), 'one of the most famous and most frequented in Switzerland. . . . Great celebrity is attached to the cascade of Staubbach.' The following allusion to the Tschingel Pass is interesting (pp. 312-13): 'Persons who have sufficient courage

to cross the most difficult parts of the Alps may take a passage which will conduct them direct from Kanderstoege to Lauterbrunn, and which is said to have been discovered by M. Bourrit, of Geneva.' This is briefer, but scarcely less emphatic, than the original in Ebel (1811 edition, iii. 259). 'Il y a une vingtaine d'années que quelques Suisses allèrent en 9 heures depuis le pied du glacier de la *Kander* jusqu'aux premières cabanes de *Lauterbrunn*, non sans essayer les plus grandes fatigues et s'exposer aux plus affreux dangers. Quiconque voudroit entreprendre ce trajet périlleux, partout hérissé de glaciers et de rocs, auroit besoin à cet effet d'excellens guides, d'un temps sûr, d'une intrépidité à toute épreuve et d'une grande habitude des montagnes et des glaciers.'<sup>62</sup> Even the last edition of Ebel (1843) confines itself to the excursion from Kandersteg to the Kander glacier, and does not mention the pass. Yet in 1864 Mr. Ball ('Central Alps,' p. 100) calls the passage of the Tschingel 'a first exercise—a *pons asinorum* in an inoffensive sense—for those who aspire to more intimate acquaintance with the high Alps than can be gained by following the habitual track of tourists'! Of the valley of Chamonix Mr. Wall tells us (pp. 408, 425) that 'it is remote from all high roads, isolated and as it were separated from the whole world,' and that 'this valley, so singularly interesting,' was discovered by Pococke and Windham in 1741. He adds (p. 408) that the guides 'are extremely attentive. The guides of this place are to be preferred to any others in Switzerland.' We are told (p. 410) that 'no one ought to expose himself to the

dangers, fatigue, and considerable expense, which an excursion to Mont-Blanc renders indispensable, allured by the deceitful expectation of enjoying prospects of extraordinary magnificence.' We have the inevitable references to Paccard, Jacques Balmat, and De Saussure, but later ascents are not even mentioned. The climb itself is described in these words (p. 411): 'The ascent is extremely difficult, and even dangerous, owing to the continual falls of snow (*avalanches*). The distance from the plains of Chamouny is only six miles and a half in a straight line; but, owing to the bad roads, the windings, and the great perpendicular height, the summit cannot be gained in less than eighteen hours.'

The remarks in Ebel (endorsed and copied by Mr. Wall) as to the expenses of a sojourn in Switzerland are interesting. Geneva is reckoned a very dear place, yet monthly expenses need not amount even there to more than 94 francs present value (4 louis d'or) a head. The daily expenses of a traveller when staying in one place are reckoned (including a *valet de place*) at 6 florins (14 francs) a day: if staying in the country five or six months, and travelling about, at double that amount; but if making a rapid tour of a few weeks only, treble that amount is required per diem. A pedestrian should not spend more than about 12 francs (half a louis d'or) a day, including all the expenses of a guide; if the guide is paid about 6 francs (a crown) a day, he is to feed himself. The best way to avoid imposition in matters relating to the inn expenses of a guide (p. 28), 'is to have your guide

sit down at your same table, provided you can bespeak your dinner, and to bear the expense yourself of his board, lodging, and washing.' (This advice is given both by Ebel and Mr. Wall.) In reading the following estimate of expenses we must bear in mind that the time advised for a tour in Switzerland is not less than twelve months, though 'four months might be made sufficient merely to view what Nature has created remarkable in Switzerland, if the tourist could judiciously adjust his route.' Both Ebel and his English editor agree in this estimate. 'Any one willing to travel on foot all over Switzerland, and to board during the winter with some private family, may rest assured that 110 or 120 Louis [2,588 to 2,823½ francs], at most, will carry him over for a twelvemonth. Whoever could summon fortitude enough to travel on foot and carry his own luggage, without hiring a guide for that purpose, would not spend above two florins (rather under five francs) a day upon an average. Every young man in the bloom of health and of life must be capable of travelling over distant climes with his knapsack at his back, and a stick in his hand.'<sup>63</sup> In the 'Hints to Travellers' Mr. Wall gives several itineraries from London to Switzerland, *viâ* Paris and Bâle, or Brussels and the Rhine. The sea was crossed from Brighton to Dieppe (7 to 40 hours), from Margate to Ostend, from Dover to Calais (3 to 12 hours), from Rye to Boulogne, from Portsmouth to Havre, or from Harwich to Helvoetsluys. Altogether Mr. Wall's edition of 'Ebel' is most interesting to English visitors to Switzerland in these days, for it shows them what

travelling in Switzerland was like only seventy years ago, when it was far slower and more expensive than at present, and less concerned with mountains than with towns, lakes, and hills. I should imagine that Mr. Wall had (as was usual at that time) but a scanty knowledge of German, as the German names are often shockingly spelt and mutilated, though they are correct even in the French version of 'Ebel.' From this habit of Mr. Wall, and other small matters which I have observed during a tolerably careful examination of the book, I should conclude that in compiling his book he used a French translation of 'Ebel'—either the second (1810-11) or the third (1818) edition. Though the book is more of a translation and adaptation than Mr. Wall allows in his preface, it is none the less of great historical importance as the first English guide-book proper to Switzerland.

The Alpine Club library possesses the third edition of the same book, entitled 'The Traveller's Guide through Switzerland,' issued by M. A. Leigh and Son, 421 Strand, as well as by Baldwin and Cradock, Paternoster Row, and bearing the imprint 1835. It is a 16mo. of xxxvi-560 pages, and does not bear Mr. Wall's name. There is an entirely new preface, and a remarkable 'Advertisement to the Third Edition,' from which we extract the concluding sentences: 'In tampering with the venerable features of our learned original' (*i.e.* Ebel), 'and in substituting new ones, we trust we have allowed the harmony of the general character to remain undisturbed. We have endeavoured to bestow upon it the literary elixir which

insures youth without forfeiting that judgment and veracity which are supposed to appertain especially to old age ; and relying on that accustomed support we are so proud to acknowledge, we fervently solicit a kind reception for an old friend with a new face.' This flight really means that the text has been revised according to the latest information supplied by travellers or by the personal experience of the editor. In substance the book is practically unchanged. From the 'Hints to Travellers' we learn that M. Emery (who thus appears to have been a foreigner) or his agent was to be heard of at the White Bear, near the Circus, Piccadilly, and was prepared to take travellers to Switzerland in the same fashion and on the same terms as in 1818 (though the growth of the diligence system in Switzerland is pointed out), save that twenty pounds are substituted for as many guineas. Much information is given as to Herries, Farquhar & Co.'s circular exchange notes, and as to passports, with a table of dates of the main events in Swiss history and some statistics as to the actual condition of the country. The four main divisions of the 1818 book are maintained. In Part i. (pp. 1-65) there is a section (transferred from Part ii. of the 1818 book) on manners, customs, commerce, agriculture, &c., while of the special articles, those on the Alps, Glaciers, and Avalanches are alone retained in their old place ; the others are transferred to Part iii. The estimates for expenses are unchanged save that in one case 14 francs has gone down to 12 francs ; the cost for necessities alone in any part of Switzerland is still reckoned



at four guineas a month in a private family, or by special agreement with an innkeeper. Part ii. (pp. 66-241) has been much enlarged by the addition of an elaborate descriptive Itinerary (pp. 67-183), containing 402 outline routes (giving the distances in leagues between the post stations), starting from the principal places in the Confederation. This is the most important novelty in the book, and from some remarks of the editor, asking for a little indulgence, would appear to be more or less original. The rest of Part ii. is unchanged. Save that the description of the plates is wanting, being probably transferred to the separate volume containing the plates themselves, which is missing in the copy of the 1835 book in the Alpine Club library (though probably identical with that of 1818), Parts iii. (pp. 242-432) and iv. (pp. 433-560) are as in 1818, but the matter has been thoroughly revised, and the spelling of German proper names is infinitely more correct than in 1818. Save the omission of the phrases taken from pp. 408 and 444, the quotations I made above from the 1818 edition reappear in the 1835 one. There is an interesting passage on the history of the monastery at Chamonix, no doubt taken from Markham Sherwill's sketch (1832) mentioned on the same page, and Mr. Auldjo's ascent of Mont Blanc (1827) is the most recent recorded, though Mr. Wilbraham was up in 1830 and Dr. Martin Barry and Count Henri de Tilly successively in 1834. Finally, Ebel's view of Zürich and the lake is substituted for the marvellous one of Geneva which adorned Mr. Wall's edition. The 1818

and 1835 books are thus the second and third editions of a work the date of the first publication of which is unknown to me, though it would be most interesting to learn it.

The only other early guide-book to Switzerland in English that I have come across is that by Mrs. Mariana Starke, a lady who, I am told, was sometimes called the 'Countess of Sorrento,' because she praised that place so much. The first edition mentioned by Lowndes is that of 1820, which bears the title of 'Travels on the Continent, for the use of Travellers' (post 8vo.). The fifth edition (of which Mr. Tuckett possesses a copy), thoroughly revised and greatly enlarged, came out in 1824 (post 8vo.) under the title cited below, and the eighth (apparently the final one) in 1833. I possess a copy of the seventh edition (1829), which is entitled 'Information and Directions for Travellers on the Continent,' published by John Murray. Both the later editions contain, besides some practical hints as to horses, prices, &c., only half a dozen pages relating to Switzerland, which describe the routes over the St. Bernardino, St. Gotthard, and Great St. Bernard. It is really the eighth (1832 or 1833) edition of this work that is mentioned, with a shortened title, by Mr. Marett in his very interesting sketch of Swiss travel in the thirties ('Alpine Journal,' xi. 476).

But as Ebel in Switzerland had absorbed all previous French and German guide-books into his book, so did Murray in England. In the year 1838—just over fifty years ago—the *editio princeps* of Murray's

'Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland and the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont' was given to the world as one of Murray's series of Handbooks for other parts of the Continent. The editor acknowledged his obligations to Ebel, aiming at superseding him by the greater accuracy and freshness of his information.<sup>64</sup> The book is in octavo and has sixty pages of preliminary matter, 367 more comprising the text and index, while there is a smaller index route map (printed on linen) of Switzerland and the districts beyond it as far south as the Mediterranean.<sup>65</sup> There is also a panorama of the Alps from Berne. (The Brévent panorama appears first in 1842, and that from the Riffelberg in 1854.) The text is arranged in 137 routes (pretty certainly the first time this plan was ever thoroughly carried out, though, of course, Heidegger in 1787, and the 'Guide du Voyageur' in its 1790 and 1794 editions, had employed it to a limited extent), and the general scheme is that still retained, but the cloth binding of my copy (an 1840 reissue, with a sheet of corrections, of the first edition) is black, the familiar red cover not appearing till the edition of 1842; in both cases the arms of the twenty-two cantons are stamped in gold on the back cover. I have been unable to find in the editions of 1838, 1842, or 1846 the well-known passage about the probable madness of the travellers who wish to ascend Mont Blanc, though the description of the expedition actually given is certainly highly coloured. The passage in question certainly appears for the first time in the fourth edition (1851), is repeated in the fifth (1852), sixth (1854), and seventh (1856) editions,

and disappears for good, probably owing to the advent of a new editor, in the eighth (1858). Here is the text: 'It is a somewhat remarkable fact that a large proportion of those who have made this ascent have been persons of unsound mind.' In my copy of the 1851 edition (which has been revised by one 'J. D. G.' for the next edition) these words are carefully kept in, though the paragraph in which they occur is considerably altered. 'Murray's Handbook' soon attained great popularity among the ever-increasing throng of English visitors to Switzerland, and an Englishman came to be recognised as much by the possession of the 'red book' as by his inability, half contempt, half shyness, to speak the language of the country. An amusing advertisement, quoted by Herr Peyer (p. 244), says: 'From St. Petersburg to Seville, from Ostend to Constantinople, there is not an inn-keeper who does not turn pale at the name of Murray.'

A few years after the birth of Murray's Swiss guide-book came that of his great rival Bädeler (1844). The struggle between the two books, especially after Bädeler was translated into English (1859), was long and severe, and twenty years ago there were far more 'Murrays' than 'Bädekers' to be seen in the hands of English people, whereas now the relation is quite reversed. It is not, however, necessary to inquire minutely into the causes of this change, due very largely to Bädeler's plan of frequent editions as well as to the appearance of a new type of traveller, following the beaten tracks, and desiring the detailed practical information as to inns, prices, &c., which

'Bädeker' so amply affords, and also to his numerous and very clear district maps. 'Bädeker,' too, being published in several languages, appeals to a larger public than Murray; while Americans, to whom Switzerland is but a minor item in a rapid flight through Europe, rarely go beyond Appleton's 'European Guide-book,' in which all Continental countries are concisely described within the limits of a single volume. It is only fair to point out that 'Murray' devotes much attention to by-ways, whereas 'Bädeker' is particularly strong as regards the frequented tourists' roads and paths. 'Murray,' too, has of late been very much improved, probably owing to the exertions of a new editor. This improvement is seen in the sixteenth edition (1879), the first appearing in two slim volumes; and there is a marked advance in the seventeenth edition (1886), which, besides 86 pages of preliminary matter, has 559 pages of text (the routes numbering 170) and twenty-five maps, plans, and panoramas.<sup>66</sup> It is now very thorough and clear. Roughly speaking, I should say that, while 'Bädeker' is unsurpassed for minute practical details, 'Murray' is far superior in the historical, scientific, and Alpine departments, while the references to mountaineering and mountain climbs throughout the last named book display technical knowledge, so that a prudent traveller wishing to really study the country should provide himself with both. 'Murray,' too, takes in not only the Swiss Alps, but, in outline, all the Western Alps down to the Maritime Alps—a most useful feature, considering the difficulty

an ordinary traveller would meet with in trying to get information as to the less-frequented portions of the French and Piedmontese Alps. In both the latest editions of 'Murray' we read, in the account of Geneva, the following sentence :—' In fact, the bitter observance of the Sabbath has given place to general cheerful enjoyment of the day of rest from ordinary work ! ' Are we to suppose that the rather aggressive Protestantism of 'Murray' in former days has been adapted to suit modern views, and that 'bitter' is satire ? or is the word simply a misprint for 'better' ? This might afford an interesting study in guide-book ethics, an inquiry from which I must reluctantly refrain. I must, however, find room to express a hope that in the next edition 'Murray' will improve the section on the Waldensian valleys, not merely in matters of history and topography, but as regards the very poor map, which is in strong contrast to the many new and clear maps recently added to the book. The view of the Bernese Alps from Berne is all but identical with that in the 1838 edition, while the panorama from the Brévent is, in all essential points, a reproduction of that in the edition of 1842. Both might well be cancelled, if only to mark the progress made in the reproduction of mountain views in the course of the fifty years of her Majesty's reign—and of 'Murray's.' The rough map of the Macugnaga glacier appears for the first time in 1854 and is still retained, but luckily a marvellous view of the summit of Monte Rosa, from 'Schlagintweit's Stuhl,' first

given in 1856, has disappeared by 1872, possibly by 1868, though it is still in the 1867 edition.<sup>67</sup>

By 1843 'Ebel' had done its work—and a great one. For English travellers 'Murray' was all in all. Various rivals for the favour of travellers of other nationalities appeared to claim the vacant heritage—in German notably Bädeler, Von Escher, Von Tschudi, and Berlepsch. The first edition of Bädeler's Swiss guide-book appeared at Coblenz in 1844, in a modest volume of 24 pages of introductory matter and 536 octavo pages of description, bearing the title of '*Die Schweiz: Handbüchlein für Reisende, nach eigener Anschauung und den besten Hilfsquellen verarbeitet.*' It was in a straw-coloured cover, stamped with the arms of the twenty-two cantons, the well-known red cover not appearing till later. In this little book, my copy of which I count as one of the greatest curiosities of my collection of Alpine works, there is a small and rather indistinct map of Switzerland, at one end of which appears a small view of the Alps from the Rigi. The work itself contains eighty routes, mainly following the order in Part i. of 'Murray,' save that it also takes over Chamonix, Courmayeur, and the Great St. Bernard from Part ii., 'the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont.' Thus, as 'Murray' has always described the Zermatt valley in Part ii., the first edition of 'Bädeler' makes not the slightest mention of it! The preface to the 1844 edition explains that, as

Bädeker's guides to Germany, Belgium, Holland, the Rhine and the Moselle had been received with great favour, he has now determined to issue one for Switzerland. He candidly avows that his book is based on 'Murray,' though maintaining that 'Murray' supplied the frame only of his picture, the latter being mainly the result of German industry. Some obligations to Joanne are also acknowledged. Stress is laid on the fact that the subject is looked at from a German point of view, which is different from that of an Englishman or of a Frenchman. The object of the book is to be of practical use on the spot, and most of the places described had been visited by the author himself. An appeal is made to travellers to communicate corrections and fresh information, based on personal experience, this appeal being specially addressed to students, in remembrance of the days, a quarter of a century before, when the author as a student began to explore his Fatherland. The whole look of this curious little volume is quite unlike that of the modern 'Bädeker.' The only other early edition of 'Bädeker' which I have seen is the fifth (1854), a copy of which I possess. It externally resembles the red-covered 'Bädekers' we know so well, but within it is not much more than a thoroughly revised edition of matter previously published in this form. The preface lays claim to considerable independence of 'Murray' so far as the substance of the text is concerned, though still admitting that his book is taken as a basis; attention is drawn to the fact that the greatest care has been taken to obtain full and recent information as to



inns, those especially commended being marked with a star, though innkeepers are warned that recommendations cannot be purchased. It concludes with the remark that, as there are curious persons who receive an anonymous book with distrust, the name of the author is placed on the title-page. In the first edition this had only appeared as that of the publisher. In the 1854 edition the introductory matter fills 40 pages and the text 374—the pages being larger than in 1844. The Zermatt, Saas, Anzasca, and Tournanche valleys are now fully described, and the old matter has been brought up to date. One of the most striking points of contrast is that the 1854 edition contains two general and three special (Rigi, Chamonix, Oberland) maps, as well as four plans of towns, a panorama from the Faulhorn, and sixteen woodcuts. The small view from the Rigi is common to both editions, the lakes being coloured blue in 1844 and left plain in 1854. Herr Peyer (p. 164) tells us that the earlier editions abounded in poetical quotations, so that this guide-book was not always as concise, matter of fact, and practical as we know it now. The original author, Karl Bädeker (born 1801), published also guide-books to other places, the first being for the Rhine (1839), then Belgium and Holland (1842), followed (1855) by another for Paris. The present head of the firm is his son, who bears the same name. He has well upheld the inherited tradition, and has maintained the book at a very high standard. He is also a climber, and on August 4, 1863, made the first ascent of the Silberhorn. It is to him that we are indebted for a handy 'Guide-book for Great Britain'

(1887), which, like all its brethren (now a host in number), is most admirable. Bäderer's Swiss guide-book (with which alone we are here specially concerned) has always been particularly strong in the matter of district maps and of the latest practical details, though, of course, it is not especially intended for mountaineers. In 1859 it appeared in English and French translations, which have gone through many editions. In German, the twenty-second edition appeared in 1887; it contains thirty-six maps, ten plans of towns, and eleven panoramas; in English, the twelfth edition appeared in 1887.

G. von Escher (who had edited the last two editions of 'Ebel') published, in 1851, a guide-book under his own name, entitled '*Neuestes Handbuch für Reisende in der Schweiz.*' It is an 8vo., containing 106 pages of introductory matter and 601 pages (double columns) of text, besides a most elaborate index filling 65 pages more. The author tells us in his preface that he has abandoned the alphabetical arrangement of even the latest edition of 'Ebel' in favour of Murray's far more convenient system of routes. The routes here number 280, and there is a route map, while the two panoramas of the 1843 'Ebel' are given with their outlines filled in. The book seems well arranged and very full, but Herr Peyer (p. 166) tells us that it never attained the honours of a second edition.

Von Tschudi's guide-book has been the only really successful rival of 'Bäderer,' and, so far as guide-books in German are concerned, these two are the true heirs of Ebel. But 'Bäderer' is rather for the ordinary

easy-going traveller, whereas 'Von Tschudi' caters as well for those who aim at making high ascents; and though, owing to its extreme conciseness, it is, from a literary point of view, very unreadable, it brings together and classifies, according to an admirable method, a really amazing amount of facts. The author, Iwan von Tschudi, was a member of the famous Glarus family, and was born in 1813. The first edition was published in 1855 in a modest form, and bore the title of 'Schweizerführer.' In 1872 it was remodelled and took the name of 'Der Tourist in der Schweiz.' This guide-book combines the most characteristic features of 'Murray,' of 'Bädeker,' and of 'Ball.' No one, perhaps, has ever known every nook and corner of Switzerland better than Von Tschudi, though he did not claim to be a climber pure and simple, but held himself to be rather an explorer and one who made known the explorations of others.<sup>68</sup> Concise, accurate, kept up to date (especially in the matter of new ascents), it well deserves the judgment long ago passed on it by such a high authority as Mr. F. F. Tuckett (and endorsed again and again), that it is 'the best pocket-guide for mountaineers.'<sup>69</sup> Its merits were recognised by the English Alpine Club, who conferred on the author the rarely bestowed honour of election as an 'Honorary Member' of the Club. I learn with pleasure that the author's lamented death on April 28, 1887, will not entail the decease of his book. The thirtieth edition appeared in the spring of 1888 in a new plain cover, and without the railway maps at the end (now issued in a separate form), but

otherwise it seems to be unchanged and retains all its well-known features. It fills 660 closely, but clearly, printed double column octavo pages, and contains three maps, eight plans of towns, and nine panoramas. If I were allowed but one general Swiss guide-book, I would certainly select that of Von Tschudi.

It is to be regretted that it has never been translated into English. A French edition appeared in 1864 by the name of '*Guide en Suisse*' (5 fr.). In 1869-70 the German edition was issued in three separate handy octavo volumes, treating respectively of Northern and Western Switzerland, the Forest Cantons Valais and Tessin, and Eastern Switzerland. In this form (in which much detailed information was given which does not appear in the one-volume edition) the book reached a third edition in 1870-1, but this plan seems to have been dropped after that date. Several special sections were also reprinted separately in 1870-1, viz. Oberland, Lake of Geneva and Chamonix, Graubünden, Ragatz, Valais and Tessin. The present one-volume edition is so arranged that it can be divided into four separately sewn portions—North and West Switzerland, Forest Cantons Valais and Tessin, East Switzerland, Piedmont and Savoy. In 1871 there appeared a slim 8vo. volume by the same author, entitled '*Savoyen und das angrenzende Piemont und Dauphiné*,' which reached the honours of a cheap edition in 1878. This contained a description of the whole of Savoy—not only of Chamonix, but of the Tarentaise and Maurienne—as well as of the

Dauphiné Alps, the Grande Chartreuse group, and the Queyras, all very well described, considering how little they were explored at that time. In the latest one-volume edition the Chamonix bit of the 1871 book is kept in, and also a few pages on the Mont Cenis, Little St. Bernard, and Waldensian valleys (all, of course, thoroughly revised); while there is added a very full and concise guide to the Cogne district (of which there is no trace in the 1871 book), which one is rather surprised to find in a Swiss guide-book (though 'Murray,' in accordance with the title-page, is, particularly in its latest editions, even fuller in this respect), but which is all the more acceptable.

The fourth of the guide-books in German, which aimed at taking the place of Ebel, was H. A. Berlepsch's '*Neuestes Reisehandbuch für die Schweiz*,' of which the first edition appeared in 1862 at Hildburgshausen as No. i. of Meyer's series of '*Reisebücher*' (8vo, pp. xlvii.-661, double columns, fourteen maps, five plans of towns, seven panoramas and sixteen illustrations). The book comprises 141 routes. In the preface the author explains his scheme. As the book is specially meant for those entering Switzerland from Germany, the routes mainly start from the Lake of Constanx and Basel. Within the country they branch out from three main centres—Chur, Lucerne, and Bern—the description of the course of some primary main route being followed by those of the secondary and side routes which diverge from it. These main or trunk routes generally follow the valleys or the track over the ordinary passes. Special attention was paid to

the insertion of information as to the flora of each district or place.

In 1864 an abridged form of the book appeared at Hildburghausen as No. iv. of 'Meyer's Reisebücher,' under the style of 'Wegweiser durch die Schweiz' (12mo., 190 pages, two maps), the larger work appearing also in a French translation.

In 1872, Berlepsch published at Leipzig, with the aid of J. G. Kohl, a work under the old title, 'Die Schweiz: neuestes Reisehandbuch' (8vo., 528 pp., ten maps, six plans of towns, five panoramas, and twenty-two illustrations); but as a sixth edition of the original work by Berlepsch alone appeared in 1871, and a seventh in 1873 (both at Hildburghausen), the two books must clearly be in some way distinct, though, not having seen either, I cannot explain what seems a very odd proceeding. The joint work appeared in 1874 in an English dress. As far as I can understand matters, the original work seems to have later taken the title of 'Meyer's Reisebücher: Die Schweiz,' of which the eleventh edition appeared at Leipzig in 1886 (pp. lxii-364), with twenty-one maps, eight plans of towns, and twenty-six panoramas. In the preface to the fourth French edition, which is based on the ninth (1877) edition, we are told that it is 'rédigé à neuf et par d'autres écrivains spéciaux. M. Berlepsch est resté, en effet, complètement étranger à la rédaction de cet ouvrage, comme il l'est depuis des années à celle de l'édition allemande, des raisons sérieuses ayant forcé l'éditeur de confier le travail à d'autres mains.' Meanwhile the joint work appeared at Zürich in a fourth

edition in 1882, as the seventeenth 'recension' (Bearbeitung) of Berlepsch, an eighteenth much abridged, (8vo., 204 pp.), and a fifth edition ('Schweiz, Chamonix, Veltlin, etc.'), remodelled after the author's death, by M. Koch von Berneck (pp. xxxii-472), appearing in 1884. The 'Wegweiser' reached a fourth edition in 1879. Berlepsch's book would therefore seem to have put on four different forms during its lifetime, issued for the first time respectively in 1862, 1864, 1872, and 1884, but not having been able to examine a complete series (especially about the years 1872-6), I cannot say how far my theory is justified by facts.

Berlepsch was, however, better known by his admirable volumes entitled 'Die Alpen in Natur- und Lebensbildern' (1861, translated the same year by Mr. Leslie Stephen, the fifth German edition being dated 1886) and 'Schweizerkunde' (first edition, 1859-1864; second, 1875) than by his guide-book, which came at a time when the ground was fully occupied, though no one can deny the profound knowledge of Switzerland from every point of view possessed by the lamented author, who died in 1883.

Two other Swiss guide-books may be more briefly described. One is the 'Praktisches Handbuch für Reisende,' of which the tenth edition (1883), edited by K. Berner, an octavo of 265 pages (costing 3s.), was published by Goldschmidt at Berlin as vol. 23 of Grieben's 'Reisebibliothek.' A smaller edition (120 pages) cost only 1s. 6d. The fourteenth edition of this work, edited by Th. Stromer (274 pages), appeared in 1889, as well as a new edition (126 pages) in the

smaller form. This is absolutely all the information which I have been able to procure concerning this book, which for a work of which fourteen editions have now been issued seems to have made wonderfully little stir in the world and to have left very faint traces behind it. The other is Joseph Lacroix's '*Nouveau Guide. Général du Voyageur en Suisse*,' priced at ten francs. This is an octavo volume containing 407 pages, published at Paris by Garnier frères. It bears no date on the title-page, but as mention is made of the date of 1863 in speaking of Monte Rosa, while the Matterhorn is still called inaccessible, it was, no doubt, published between 1863 and 1865. It contains an unusually large and detailed general map of the country, besides woodcuts, plans of towns, and a panorama from the Chaumont. The text seems, as far as I have examined it, to be adapted to the use of ordinary tourists, the usual paths and excursions being described, while vague allusions only are made to the higher peaks. The most remarkable feature about the book is its arrangement. Switzerland is divided into two great halves. The first is entitled '*La Suisse Industrielle*,' taking in the western, northern, and north-eastern portions of the land, treated in five chapters—Geneva and Fribourg, the Jura, Berne and Soleure, North East, S. Gall; the second is called '*La Suisse Pastorale*,' and includes the central, southern, and eastern districts split up into four sections: Oberland, Forest Cantons, Glarus and Grisons, Tessin and Valais. In the former main division the great railway lines, and then the chief roads



are described ; in the latter, the arrangement is more specially designed for pleasure travellers. A supplement of ten pages is devoted to Chamonix and the 'tour du Mont Blanc.'

I have been able to procure comparatively scanty information with regard to the history of the principal Swiss guide-book in French which has appeared in recent times—the 'Guide Joanne,' which, as I have pointed out (p. 182), may in some way have incorporated or utilised Richard's guide. Adolphe Joanne (1813–81), the original author, is perhaps best known to my readers as one of the founders (1874), and later as the president (1876–9), of the French Alpine Club. He began his travels in 1833–4,<sup>70</sup> and it is largely on his own experiences that he based his 'Itinéraire Descriptif et Historique de la Suisse,' of which the first edition appeared in 1841.<sup>71</sup> The second appeared (with seven maps) in 1853 (a copy is in the Alpine Club Library). I have a copy of the third (1859) edition. It is in 8vo., contains 866 double-column pages, and has ten maps, five plans of towns, ten views, and seven panoramas. The 1887 edition has lxxxviii pages of introductory matter and 671 of text (double columns), comprising 258 routes, together with nineteen maps, five plans, and five panoramas. Though forming a single volume it can be broken up into three distinct parts. It has been thoroughly remodelled and brought up to date, so that it now ranks as one of the four first-class general guide-books to Switzerland.

The '*Itinéraire Descriptif et Historique de la Savoie*' was first published in 1860. A very convenient and, for the time, accurate volume, devoted specially to the French Alps, appeared in 1877 (in 8vo., 1,088 pages, twenty-one maps, four plans of towns, two panoramas) under the style of '*Jura et Alpes Françaises.*' The series of '*Guides Diamant*' (in 16mo.) was started in 1866 (second edition of Swiss volume in 1868, third edition in 1872, new edition with eleven maps in 1886), and now the '*Collection des Guides Joanne,*' in all forms and for all countries, numbers no fewer than 120 volumes. M. Joanne has adopted the admirable plan (which one wonders has not been more widely adopted, owing to the facilities it offers for reprinting every season) of grouping all information as to inns, shops, carriages, guides, &c., at the end of the volume and combining it with the index (this takes up 64 three-column pages in the 1887 edition). My friend M. Duhamel informs me that this plan is not followed in the fourth edition of the '*Itinéraire de la Suisse*' (1872), but that it is adopted in the fifth (1874). It is worth remembering that something of the same plan was followed in the '*Richard*' of 1824, a work which seems to have some relation to '*Joanne,*' which I have hitherto completely failed to trace out in detail.

A short notice may suffice for two minor Swiss guide-books in French. One of these is the '*Guide Conty*' (2 fr. 50 c.), by H. Conty, of which I possessed a copy ('*Quinze Jours dans la Suisse Centrale—Oberland Lernois,*' pp. 210 in 12mo., with

a 40-page supplement describing the inns in the several places) as far back as 1865, so that it must have originally appeared before that date. It is written for the use of French tourists who have taken circular tickets from Paris to Switzerland and back, and is distinguished as much by its superficiality as by the unconscious way in which, while trying to be instructive, it becomes most mirth-provoking. It appears now in two forms: (1) '*Suisse Française: Savoie, Oberland, Suisse Centrale*' (12mo., 284 pp.), intended for those who hold fifteen or twenty day ordinary circular tickets to Switzerland over the Lyons or Eastern Railway lines. (2) '*Suisse du Nord: Grand Duché de Bade et Engadine*,' intended for the holders of a ticket (first issued in 1884) enabling them to visit Northern and Eastern Switzerland. The names of the inns are printed on blue paper at the end of the book, the places being arranged in alphabetical order. The other is the '*Guide Pratique du Voyageur en Suisse et dans la Vallée de Chamouny, par les frères Latour*' (Paris and Geneva, circa 1873, 12mo., pp. cxii-489, 3 fr.), for the sight of which I am indebted to the kindness of my friend M. Henry Duhamel. The book is, according to the preface, based on the experience gained during fifteen summer journeys in Switzerland, and is intended to supply the most minute practical details, so that the expense of a trip may be exactly calculated and swindling may be prevented as far as possible. Seventy pages of the introduction are taken up with minute directions (the smallest expenses being set down) for a variety of tours,

varying from a week to seventy-four days out and in, Paris, of course, being the centre from which the start is made and to which the traveller is made to return. The expenses for a week's round are estimated at from 194 fr. 25 c. to 281 fr. 75 c., those for a fortnight from 285 fr. 45c. to 493 fr. 85 c., and those for a month from 480 fr. 45 c. to 908 fr. 90c., the variations being caused by the taking or not taking of horses, guides, &c. The descriptive portion of the work is divided into 146 chapters or routes, there are six outline maps described as '*très claires*' (general, Chamonix, Zermatt, Oberland, Rigi, Pontresina), the inns (with tables of prices) are placed in an appendix under the names of places, arranged alphabetically, and the book ends with a supplement of eight pages, giving the Oberland tariff for horses and carriages, as well as those of the Federal diligences, and of the Rigi railway. This work is intended for the ordinary tourist, and seems clearly arranged, though one cannot help smiling at the footnote to the description of the Eggischhorn view: '*C'est de ce côté seulement que quelques intrépides font parfois la périlleuse ascension de la Jungfrau.*'

I cannot do more than mention the Savoy guide of M. Gabriel de Mortillet, entitled '*Guide de l'Etranger en Savoie et en Haute-Savoie,*' which first appeared in 12mo. in 1855.

Of some other Swiss guide-books published at very low prices it must suffice to say but a few words. Mr. Charles Boner's '*Guide for Travellers in the Plain*

and on the Mountain' (1876) contains in its second part much useful advice for climbers of moderate ambition, with illustrations drawn from the author's Tyrolese experiences. The 'Practical Swiss Guide, by an Englishman abroad' (1869, 3s.; one for the Bernese Oberland appeared as long ago as 1864), is well fitted for people who try to imitate Mr. Mark Twain's method of travelling, but lack his humour; while 'The J. E. M. Guide to Switzerland: the Alps and How to See them' (1882, 2s. 6d.), rests, according to the published opinion of its compiler, at least in part, on the approval of 'a Minor Canon or two.' Travellers not belonging to that select order can hardly be recommended to see the Alps through the eyes of Mr. J. E. Muddock. A third edition of this work, 'improved, revised, and corrected,' was issued in 1883 (4s. 6d.), which, according to the preface, contains several new maps and illustrations, and now fills 401 octavo pages.

Paterson's 'Guide to Switzerland, with maps and plans' (second edition, 1886), is a marvellous shilling's worth. It does not pretend to help any one when above the snow-line, as there a guide is wanted rather than a guide-book. Clear and practical, well written, and well printed, it is, however, a little given to borrowing, without acknowledgment, from the pages of its rivals. The maps are poor, but the plans of towns are good and up to date. A passing mention is sufficient for Bradshaw's 'Pedestrian Route-book for Switzerland, Chamonix and the Italian Lakes' (1869), Bradshaw's 'Illustrated Handbook for Switzerland

and the Tyrol' (by 1868), and R. Allbut's 'The Tourist's Handbook to Switzerland' (1884), the last named of which is possibly identical with Mr. T. Cook's 'Tourists' Handbook to Switzerland.' Of an older Swiss guide-book in English I know nothing, beyond the following mention in Albert Smith's 'The Story of Mont Blanc' (1853 edition, Notice, p. v.): 'Mr. Bogue's "Guide to Switzerland and Savoy" is very minute and correct in all its Geneva and Chamouni details.'

Herr J. J. Egli's 'Die Schweiz' (1886, 1s.) is rather a supplement to a guide-book than a guide-book proper, for it devotes much space to the past history, as well as to the present social, economical, and political state of the country, while the rest of the book consists of general descriptions of districts, without minute indications as to routes, &c. This pamphlet (for it is hardly more) contains much information which it is not easy to get except by consulting many larger books, and, though necessarily brief, is always clear, accurate, and up to date. It is wonderful how the publisher (G. Freytag, of Leipzig) has, for so small a sum, contrived to give forty-eight illustrations, well chosen and fairly well reproduced from photographs. The contents are divided into twelve chapters, and fill 209 pages, while there is a full index, but no map seems to accompany the book.

Such is the history of the general Swiss guide-books published since 1684, the date of the first

edition of 'Wagner.' We must now turn to those which treat of special subjects or of special districts.

The transition from general to special guide-books is best illustrated by three series, each volume of which aims at describing a special district more minutely than Ebel and his compeers, while yet each is a special description rather than a special guide-book for travellers. The earliest of these appeared at Zürich, between the years 1802 and 1822, in the '*Helvetischer Almanach*.' Each canton had a part to itself, written by some one specially qualified for the task by his minute local knowledge. Several of these descriptions, Herr Studer (p. 537) assures us, are very good. The next series was carried out on very much the same lines, but was better executed and more complete than its predecessor. This is the collection which appeared at St. Gallen and Bern, from 1834 to 1859, in 22 8vo. volumes, under the general title of '*Historisch-Geographisch-Statistisches Gemälde der Schweiz*.' Many of the volumes are admirable monographs and well worth consulting, even at the present time. By some mischance the following cantons were not described in this series: Bern, St. Gallen, Zug, Basel (rural half), Valais, Neuchâtel, and Geneva. The third series is that known as '*Europäische Wanderbilder*' (in English as '*Illustrated Europe*,' and in French as '*L'Europe illustrée*'), of which 150 numbers have been published within the last eleven or twelve years at Zürich, by Orell, Füssli & Co., each costing sixpence, or fifty centimes. A very large proportion of these 150 parts are devoted to Swiss towns

and districts, and though the work is chiefly a compilation, yet it is compiled from the best authorities and supplemented by local information. This series seems to me to include the best local guide-books (not especially meant for mountaineers) to different places in Switzerland which have yet been published, though, of course, being published separately, no view of Switzerland as a whole is gained. It includes a recent monograph of Zürich (four parts), which is extremely full and complete, while for purely Alpine purposes Professor F. O. Wolf's handbook to the Valais and Chamonix (25 parts), just completed, is by far the most interesting volume of the series, and is, on the whole, very well done, with the exception of the Chamonix section. This is, perhaps, the place to mention three important descriptive works which treat of the Alps as a whole, and naturally contain much information about Switzerland. These are Monsieur A. Civiale's '*Les Alpes au point de vue de la Géographie Physique et de la Géologie*' (Paris, 1882), Professor F. Umlauf's '*Die Alpen : Handbuch der gesammten Alpenkunde*' (Vienna, 1887 ; translated into English, 1888),<sup>72</sup> and Monsieur E. Levasseur's '*Les Alpes et les Grandes Ascensions*' (Paris 1889).

We must now pass on to special guide-books properly so called. These may relate to special subjects or to special districts.

The former class of works may be roughly described as those which treat in detail of some aspects



of Switzerland which are conspicuous by their presence in the older and by their nearly complete absence or entire transformation in the modern general guide-books. For instance, the fact that the 'air cure' (and to a certain extent the 'whey cure') has very largely replaced the 'water cure' in Switzerland is shown by the increasing number of books treating of the former method, though the 'Bath literature,' which dates from the sixteenth century, is far from extinct, as witness early and recent guide-books to Leukerbad, Saxon, Pfäfers, Tarasp, &c. Of more general books of this kind I may cite a few typical specimens—Dr. Edwin Lee's 'The Principal Baths of Switzerland' (1865), Dr. Burney Yeo's 'Notes on St. Moritz and Tarasp' (1870), Dr. W. Marcet's 'The Principal Southern and Swiss Health Resorts: their Climate and Medical Aspect' (London, 1883), Herr A. Feierabend's 'Die klimatischen Kurorte der Schweiz' (Vienna, 1865), Herr Th. Gsellfels's 'Die Bäder und klimatischen Kurorte der Schweiz' (Zürich, 2nd edition 1886), and Herr H. Loetscher's 'Handbook to the Health Resorts of Switzerland' (Zürich, 1887).

If we look at Switzerland from a general scientific rather than a medical point of view, two recent works attract our attention at once, both in their way successors of Elie Bertrand's quaint work entitled 'Essai sur les Usages des Montagnes' (1754), which is largely geological and mineralogical, but has many pages on the uses of mountains in general; and of the more scientific treatise of Besson, 'Manuel pour les Savans et les Curieux qui voyagent en Suisse' (1786). One of

these is Mr. J. R. Morell's 'Scientific Guide to Switzerland' (London, 1867, 8vo., pp. xvi—411), which describes in minute detail the orography, hydrography, geology, fauna, flora, fish, insects, meteorology, and glaciers of the country, and contains much valuable and recent information. The other is the work published at Vienna (1878–82) in two octavo volumes (or five parts) by the German and Austrian Alpine Club under the title of 'Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Alpenreisen.' This takes in the Alps as a whole, though with special reference to the Eastern Alps. It includes elaborate sections on orography and hydrography (Von Sonklar), geology (Gümbel), meteorology (Hann), anthropology (J. Ranke), zoology, and botany (Von Dalla Torre). This last section (which has been translated into English by A. W. Bennett under the name of 'The Tourist's Guide to the Flora of the Alps,' 1886) is accompanied by A. Hartinger's splendid series of plates (500 in number) of Alpine plants, the most complete hitherto published,<sup>73</sup> and a great advance on J. C. Weber's 400 plates in his 'Die Alpenpflanzen Deutschlands und der Schweiz' (4 vols. at Munich, second edition 1868; third edition 1872; now in its fourth edition), and even on J. Seboth's 400 plates in his 'Die Alpenpflanzen nach der Natur gemalt' (4 vols., Prague, 1879–83; English edition by A. W. Bennett in 4 vols., under the title of 'Alpine Plants painted from Nature.' An earlier work of this kind was Labram's 'Sammlung von Schweizer-Pflanzen' (1835–49), a set of 883 lithographed plates.

The mention of these last works leads us on to the department of Swiss botany, in which there are numerous works of various degrees of merit, such as Wittenbach's edition of A. von Haller's '*Icones plantarum Helvetiæ*' (1795); J. Gaudin's '*Flora Helvetica*' (7 vols., 1828-30; new edition, 1828-33); W. D. J. Koch's '*Synopsis Floræ Germanicæ et Helveticæ*' (1837; second edition, in 3 vols., 1846-47; third edition, in 2 vols., 1857), and his '*Taschenbuch der Deutschen und Schweizerischen Flora*' (1844, fifth edition 1860, remodelled in 1878); Joh. Hegetschweiler's '*Die Flora der Schweiz*' (1840); Jos. Woods' '*The Tourist's Flora*' (1850); Reichenbach's '*Icones Floræ Germanicæ et Helveticæ*' (1850, 22 vols., 4to.); A. Gremli's '*Excursionsflora für die Schweiz*' (1867, sixth edition 1889); R. T. Simler's '*Botanischer Taschenbegleiter des Alpenclubisten*' (1871); L. Bouvier's '*Flore de la Suisse et de la Savoie*' (1878, second edition 1882); H. Christ's '*Das Pflanzenleben der Schweiz*' (1879; translated into French 1883); H. Correvon's '*Les Plantes des Alpes*' (1885); and Thomè's '*Flora von Deutschland*,' now in course of publication (4 vols. issued).

When we pass from botany to geology and meteorology, we come at once to the subject which of all others is of the greatest interest to mountaineers—glaciers. The works of Rendu (1840), Agassiz (1840 and 1847), Charpentier (1841), Forbes (1843-53, and a volume of occasional papers, ranging from 1841-58, issued in 1859 under the title of '*The Theory of Glaciers*'), Desor (1844 and 1845), Tyndall (1860 and

1871), Dollfus-Ausset (1863-69), Helmholtz (1865), and Forel,<sup>74</sup> contain most valuable observations, but are not arranged in a handy form suitable for travellers, so that I am forced to pass them over with the barest mention. Three works, however, in this department deserve the attention of travellers, as they are specially meant as handbooks for them. These are Prof. Tyndall's 'The Forms of Water in Clouds and Rivers, Ice, and Glaciers' (1872), Herr Coaz's 'Die Lauinen der Schweizeralpen' (1881),<sup>75</sup> and Prof. Heim's 'Handbuch der Gletscherkunde' (1885), of which Mr. Tuckett has given a very full account in the 'Alpine Journal.'<sup>76</sup> Mr. G. F. Browne's 'Ice-Caves of France and Switzerland' (1865) treats of 'glacières' or subterranean ice-caves.

For Swiss geology, the great storehouse of materials is the set of magnificent quarto volumes published by the Government Geological Commission under the name of 'Matériaux pour la Carte géologique de la Suisse,' of which over twenty volumes have appeared. Of the older works on the subject, those by A. and H. Schlagintweit, 'Untersuchungen über die physikalische Geographie und die Geologie der Alpen' (1850 and 1854), and by Herr Bernhard Studer, 'Die Geologie der Schweiz' (1851-53), are said to be the best. Alphonse Favre's 'Recherches Géologiques' (1867) deals with the neighbourhood of the Mont Blanc chain, whether on its Swiss, French, or Italian side; while another side of the subject is represented by A. Heim's 'Mechanismus der Gebirgsbildung' (1878). Prof. Oswald Heer's 'Die Urwelt der Schweiz'

(1865, 2nd edition 1879; English translation by J. Heywood in 2 vols., 1876) is mainly geological. Less elaborate are M. Desor's sketch of the Geology of the Alps in the introduction to Mr. Ball's '*Alpine Guide*' (1863), and Herr Gumbel's tractate (1878) in the '*Anleitung*,' published by the German and Austrian Alpine Club noticed above. For Alpine zoology, the standard work is Friedrich von Tschudi's '*Das Thierleben der Alpenwelt*' (1853), which has now passed through ten editions in German, while it was translated into English in 1858, and into French in 1859.

A general summary of the geology, hydrography, zoology, and meteorology of Switzerland will be found in the first part of Berlepsch's admirable '*Schweizerkunde*' (1859-64, 2nd edition 1875).

This short review of some guide-books to special departments of natural science may be fully closed by a reference to the excellent and very clear sections on the glaciers (by Mr. Ball), geology (by M. Desor), and zoology (by Mr. Carter Blake) of the Alps in the introduction to Mr. Ball's '*Alpine Guide*.'

To climbers pure and simple, the two following works should be deeply interesting, as showing them the dangers which beset them, and some means of escaping from the perils of the mountains: Herr E. Zsigmondy's '*Die Gefahren der Alpen*' (1885, French translation issued in 1886),<sup>77</sup> and Pfarrer H. Baumgartner's '*Die Gefahren des Bergsteigens*' (1886).<sup>78</sup>

Numerous as are special subject guide-books to Switzerland, they are far exceeded in number by those

devoted to special districts. Within the limits of this work it is clear that very few of these books can be mentioned even by name, and those I have selected are chosen as having special reference to the Alpine regions of Switzerland. First in the point of date after the publication of Ebel (1793) come Chrétien de Mechel's '*Itinéraire du St. Gothard et d'une partie du Valais*' (Bâle, 1795), and Prof. Struve's '*Description topographique, physique et politique du Pays de Vaud, en forme d'itinéraire pour les Savans et les Voyageurs*' (Lausanne, 1796). Then in 1807 we have K. Zay's '*Goldau und seine Gegend, wie sie war und was sie geworden*'—for the destruction of Goldau, in 1806, created as profound an impression at the beginning of this century as that of Plurs in the Val Bregaglia in 1618.<sup>79</sup>

Three peaks, too, which were formerly (and to some degree still are) regarded as *the* peaks which a traveller must ascend, have been described minutely in three monographs—the Rigi by H. Keller in his '*Beschreibung des Rigibergs, aller auf denselben führenden Wege und der berühmten Kulm-Aussicht*' (Zürich, 1823, to accompany the panorama from the same point), the Faulhorn by J. J. Schweizer in his '*Das Faulhorn im Grindelwald*' (Bern, 1832, with a panorama by Schmid), and Pilatus in an S. A. C. Festschrift '*Der Pilatus*' (Luzern, 1868).

It is interesting to find that the Geneva and Chamonix districts, which were the first to possess a special guide-book, have throughout maintained the foremost position in this department. The list given

in Appendix A, is therefore, of distinct historical value, as showing how thoroughly those regions were explored before other hilly districts in Switzerland and Savoy. It is certain that no other mountain district can show such a complete series of local guide-books extending over a period of just a hundred years since the publication of Berthout van Berchem's book in 1790.

Of the Swiss Alpine cantons, those which, after Geneva and Vaud, have been most frequently described in local guide-books, are Graubünden and Tessin. For the former we have Von Tschanner's '*Wanderungen durch die Rhätischen Alpen*' (1829-31), and his *Guide-book* (1842); Jakob Papon's '*Engadin*' (1857); Ernst Lechner's '*Piz Languard und die Berninagruppe*' (1858; second edition 1865), and '*Das Thal Bergell*' (1865; second edition 1874); G. Leonhardi's '*Das Poschiavinothal*' (1859); G. Theobald's '*Naturbilder aus den Rhätischen Alpen*' (1860, second and enlarged edition 1862), and his '*Das Bündner Oberland*' (1861); J. M. Ludwig's '*Pontresina*' (1875; new edition 1879; English translation 1876); M. Caviezel's '*Das Oberengadin*' (1876; fifth edition 1886; English translation 1877); F. Lurani's '*Le Montagne di Val Masino*' (1883); besides others, doubtless, of which I have not heard.

For Tessin we have D. Macaneo's '*Verbani lacus locorumque adjacentium chorographica descriptio*' (1490, republished with large additions in 1699); L. Lavizzari's '*Escursioni nel cantone Ticino*' (1859-1862); Signor Balli's '*La Valle Maggia*' (1884), and '*Valle Bavona*' (1885); Hardmeyer's '*Locarno et*

ses Vallées' (in 'L'Europe Illustrée'); and several chapters in Signori G. G. Bazetta and E. Brusoni's 'Guida dell' Ossola e sue adiacenze' (1888).

Other cantons have been less fortunate. For the Valais we have Prof. M. Ulrich's 'Die Seitenthäler des Wallis und der Monte Rosa' (1850); Herr G. Berndt's remarkable monograph on 'Das Val d'Anniviers' (1882; 'Ergänzungsheft,' No. 68 to 'Petermann's Mittheilungen'); and Prof. Wolf's 'Wallis und Chamonix' (just completed, 1888, in the 'Europäische Wanderbilder'). In the case of Bern the only local books which profess to describe the higher regions are Herr F. N. König's 'Reise in die Alpen' (Bern, 1814, mainly concerned with the Bernese Oberland); J. R. Wyss's 'Hand-Atlas für Reisende in das Berner Oberland' (1816); the very handy 'Taschenbuch für Reisende im Berner Oberlande' (Sauerländer, Aarau, 8vo., 1829); the 'Nouvelle Description de l'Oberland Bernois, à l'usage des Voyageurs' (Bern, Burgdorfer, 1838); Monsieur P. Ober's 'L'Oberland Bernois sous les rapports historique, scientifique et topographique' (2 vols. Bern, 1854); and Herr Karl Stettler's 'Das Frutigland' (Bern, 1887); for Herr E. A. Türlér's 'Das malerische und romantische Emmenthal nebst den angrenzenden Landestheilen' (Burgdorf, 1887) has to do with the minor heights only. For Unterwalden we have Herr C. Cattani's 'Das Alpenthal Engelberg' (1852), and 'Engelberg, ses environs et ses cures de lait' (1854), with Prof. H. Christ's 'Ob dem Kernwald' (1869), and Herr E. A. Türlér's 'Die Berge am Vierwaldstätter-See' (1888). For the Jura there are F. Osterwald's



'Description des montagnes et des vallées qui font partie de la principauté de Neuchâtel et Valangin' (1766), as well as the 'Description topographique de la Mairie de Valangin' (1795), 'de la juridiction de Neuchâtel' (1827), and 'de la Chatellenie du Val de Travers' (1830), besides MM. L. and G. Favre's 'Guide du Voyageur dans le Canton de Neuchâtel' (1871). For Glarus we have J. H. Tschudi's 'Beschreibung des Orts und Lands Glarus' (Zürich, 1714); J. G. Ebel's 'Schilderung der Gebirgsvölker der Schweiz' (1798; specially describing Glarus and Appenzell), and J. M. Schuler's 'Die Linththäler.' Finally, I may mention two old guide-books to the neighbourhood of two of the great Swiss lakes: J. L. Cysat's 'Beschreibung des Luzernersees' (1661) and H. E. Escher's 'Beschreibung des Zürichsees' (1692); while J. F. von Landsee's 'Enchiridion Helveticum Constantiæ Episcopalis' (1778) is a guide-book to the cities and monasteries of about half of modern Switzerland, comprised, till 1814-15, within the diocese of Constanx.

Such are the chief local guide-books concerned with the Alpine cantons of which I have been able to hear: a crowd more are mentioned in Herr B. Studer's 'Geschichte der physischen Geographie der Schweiz,' so often quoted in these pages. I may conclude this imperfect sketch of a vast subject by mentioning the chief guide-books to some of the great Swiss towns. For Bern we have J. R. Gruner's 'Deliciæ Urbis Bernæ' (1732), J. G. Heinzmann's 'Beschreibung der Stadt und Republik Bern' (2 vols., 1794-96), P. A. Stapfer's

'Berne : Histoire et Description' (1835, in folio and large 8vo.) ; while K. J. Durheim's 'Historisch-topographische Beschreibung der Stadt Bern und ihrer Umgebungen' (1859), K. Howald's 'Das alte Bern: Commentar zu dem Stadtplan von 1583' (1872), the indefatigable Herr G. Studer's remarkable essay, 'Zur Topographie des alten Berns' (1872-74, in vol. viii. of the 'Archiv des historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern'), and Herr E. von Rodt's 'Bernische Stadtgeschichte' (1886), throw much light on the historical topography of the town.

For Zürich there is Salomon Vögelin's 'Eine Wanderung durch Zürich im Jahr 1504' (1828 ; second much enlarged edition in course of publication) for the historical topography of the town, while J. J. and G. von Escher in their 'Das alte und neue Zürich, historisch-topographisch beschrieben' (1859), and the latest issue of the Zürich volume (4 parts) in the 'Europäische Wanderbilder,' supply all necessary information as to its present state. For Basel we have, besides other works, Dr. D. A. Fechter's essay on the topography of Basel in the 14th century (in the volume issued in 1856 under the title of 'Basel im vierzehnten Jahrhundert'), and M. Lutz's 'Basel und seine Umgebungen' (second edition, 1814), while for Luzern we have J. Businger's 'Die Stadt Luzern in topographischer, geschichtlicher und statistischer Hinsicht' (1811), 'Lucerne and its Environs' (1821), and 'Luzern und seine Umgebungen, Rigi, Gotthard, und Pilatus' (1833), besides a volume in the 'Europäische Wan-

derbilder,' and Theodor von Liebenau's 'Das alte Luzern' (1881).

It would be wrong, too, not to mention the volumes on the Rigi, Uetliberg, St. Gotthard, Arlberg, and Brünig railways contained in the 'Europäische Wanderbilder,' for this shows us how intimately local and, indeed, general guide-books are associated with the increased facilities for communications which are nowhere more remarkable than in Switzerland.

With rare exceptions, men had, up to the middle of the present century, been content with visiting the higher snow regions for exclusively scientific purposes, and few of the great peaks had been conquered, Mont Blanc (1786), the Jungfrau (1811), and the Finsteraarhorn (1812) being three of these exceptional cases. De Saussure and Bourrit had done much, but the exploration of the great ice-clad summits had been nearly abandoned since their days. A few, indeed (such as the Meyers, Hugi, Agassiz, Desor, and the Nestor of living climbers, Gottlieb Studer), handed on the torch from one to the other, but it was not till after the memorable ascent of the Wetterhorn from Grindelwald (the first from that side), on September 17, 1854, by Mr. (now Mr. Justice) Wills, that the final assault began, and that climbing became recognised as one of the noblest forms—its devotees allow no exception—of healthful enjoyment. Monte Rosa—the second peak in height in the Alps—fell in 1855,

the Dom in 1858, the Aletschhorn in 1859, the Schreckhorn and the Weisshorn in 1861, the Dent Blanche in 1862, the Aiguille Verte, the Grandes Jorasses, the Gabelhorn, and the Matterhorn in 1865. The lesser peaks were also subdued, countless passes were traversed, and the first part of the task of the Alpine Club (founded in 1857) was completed. Since then every summer has seen the unknown parts of the Alps become smaller and smaller in extent, though much still remains to be done, even in the best known districts, in the way of minute exploration.

Such a great development of Swiss travel called for a new guide-book, written from the special point of view of climbers. Mr. Murray, in 1864 or 1865, issued a knapsack guide to Switzerland (16mo.), which went through three editions, but failed to meet the requirements of mountaineers. Mr. John Ball took up the heavy task, and by the publication of his '*Alpine Guide*,' in three octavo volumes (Western Alps, 1863, xviii—377 pages; Central Alps, 1864, xviii—502 pages; Eastern Alps, 1868, xxiv—639 pages) did more than any man before or since<sup>80</sup> to help on Alpine exploration, summarising what had been done, and giving most valuable hints for future climbers. Prefixed to my copy of the 1863 volume there is a most excellent introduction, covering 135 pages, which deals with all kinds of subjects (largely scientific ones) relating to the Alps and mountaineering. This has also been printed in a separate form and was issued later in a revised edition. The '*Alpine Guide*' must be so well known to and appreciated by my readers that I need

not enter into minute details as to the general scheme adopted, though I may point out that it includes the entire chain of the Alps, without any reference to political boundaries. Speaking for myself I may say that I have had over twenty years' experience of this guide-book, largely in those parts of the Alps least known even to Mr. Ball; and I wish to place on record my profound admiration of the amazing success with which the author has firmly grasped the main lines of the topography of the most unfrequented districts; so that all his followers have had to do has been to fill in the outline sketched out with so masterly a hand. While Mr. Ball devotes his book in the first instance to climbing pure and simple, he is ever on the look-out for the geological and botanical phenomena of each district. This admirable work has, however, not been kept posted up to date,<sup>81</sup> though almost all that is required is to make certain abbreviations and to enumerate recent ascents, the framework being very nearly perfect, and a place ready for every climb made in these latter days. It is much to be wished that a new and thoroughly revised edition should, with the permission of Mr. Ball, be gradually published, and the proper body to undertake the work is the Alpine Club, were it only as a tribute of honour and respect to its first president and one of its most distinguished members.

The most recent phase of guide-book development dates back a few years only. Material so rapidly accumulated in the periodicals of the Alpine Club and of the societies on the Continent founded on the same

model, that it became more and more impossible for one man to master the whole mass. Then arose specialists who devoted themselves to limited districts, and their special researches have resulted in special guide-books in which every known route and 'variation' is briefly described and classified under its proper head.<sup>82</sup> In Switzerland, Mr. Conway's 'Zermatt Pocket-Book' (1881) is as yet the only published specimen of this class. It was more or less of an experiment, but a most successful one, for the book indicated the exact gaps still left in the exploration of the district, so that nearly every 'new expedition' made in the Monte Rosa district since 1881 is really due to Mr. Conway's monograph. A revised and very much enlarged edition is, I believe, in active preparation, while in 1887 I published in conjunction with MM. Duhamel and Perrin a book on similar lines, describing the little-known Dauphiné Alps. Other books on the same lines relating to the Tarentaise, the Bernese Oberland, and the Mont Blanc chain are in preparation or contemplation.

If Swiss guide-books form a small library in themselves (and I have only noticed those of historical importance or interest, mentioning in Appendix B the chief general descriptions of Switzerland), Swiss tourists have become a horde, to accommodate which many inns have of late years been constructed, though the risk and expenses are so great that many hôtel-keepers have become bankrupt. I take the

following curious figures from a report of Herr Guyer on Swiss hôtels, drawn up in connection with the Swiss National Exhibition of 1883. They relate to the state of things in 1880. He calculates that 1,002 inns have been built in Switzerland for the special use of travellers, and that they contain 58,137 beds, an average of 58 apiece. The capital value of the land, buildings, and furniture belonging to these 1,002 establishments is estimated at 320,000,000 francs (12,800,000*l.*), the gross profits on which are 53,000,000 francs (2,120,000*l.*), or 17 per cent., reduced, after deduction of working expenses, to 16,000,000 francs (640,000*l.*), or only 5 per cent., the enormous competition and the ever-increasing expenses accounting for this low rate of profit. Of these 1,002 inns no fewer than 283 are situated in positions above 3,400 feet, or nearly the height of Snowdon, fourteen being actually above 6,562 feet in elevation. Nor must it be supposed that these lofty inns have all been built in very recent days, as may be seen on reference to the list in Appendix C. But it is only within the last few years that these mountain inns have been much enlarged to accommodate the ever-growing stream of tourists, especially English tourists.

Herr Peyer has collected together (p. 247 of his little book, to which I have so often referred) some curious details as to the development of the means of speedy locomotion in Switzerland. The first steamer on a Swiss lake was the 'Guillaume Tell' in 1823, on the Lake of Geneva. The order in which steamers began to ply on the other Swiss lakes is as follows:—

Constance (1824), Neuchâtel (1826), Zürich, Lucerne, and Thun (all in 1835), Brienz (1839), Zug (1852). The first railway on Swiss soil was the bit from St. Louis to Basel, opened in 1844; but the first purely Swiss line was that from Zürich to Baden, opened in 1847. By 1858 the sections of the network of Swiss railways which are most important for travellers were completed. The Rigi lines were built 1869-73 and 1873-75; that through Interlaken, from one lake to another (the Böödeli-Bahn), in 1872-74, that up the Uetliberg, near Zürich, in 1875, and that to the Giessbach in 1883. The St. Gotthard line was made between 1872 and 1882; while the Brünig line was opened in 1888, and the Pilatus railway on June 4, 1889. Nor should we forget the funicular railway from Territet to Glion. The construction of the line from Interlaken to Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald is rapidly advancing, and it is announced that it will be completed in 1890; and one from Davos to Samaden is planned; while that from Visp to Zermatt has been surveyed. There is some talk of building funicular railways (to run during the summer only) in the Upper Engadine, to connect St. Moritz with the Obere Alpina plateau, Pontresina with the Languard Alp, and Tarasp with Vulpera; while one is said to be in progress between Lauterbrunnen and Mürren.

Swiss Alpine inns would not and could not have developed so rapidly and flourished so exceedingly had it not been for the splendid network of roads and railways with which the country is covered in every direction. Save the mule tracks through the Via



Mala (1473, bridges built 1738-39), and the Urner Loch near Andermatt (pierced 1707),<sup>83</sup> as well as that over the Gemmi (constructed by Tyrolese workmen 1736-41),<sup>84</sup> all the great Alpine roads in Switzerland have been constructed since 1800. In the following summary I take the dates of construction from the tables following the account of the roads of each canton given in Herr S. Bavier's elaborate work, entitled '*Die Strassen der Schweiz*' (Zürich, 1878, 4to., 154 pages, many plates and diagrams), in one or two cases reference being also made to pp. 48-54. The heights are reduced from those of the great Siegfried map:—

Date of construction		Highest point attained	
	Year		Feet
1 Simplon . . .	1800-5	1 Furka . . .	7,993 <sup>85</sup>
2 Susten . . .	1811	2 Flüela . . .	7,891
3 Splügen . . .	1818-23	3 Bernina . . .	7,648
4 San Bernardino } . . .		4 Albula . . .	7,589
5 Julier . . .	1820-26	5 Julier . . .	7,504
6 St. Gotthard . . .	1820-30	6 Susten . . .	7,422
7 Maloja . . .	1827-40	7 Ofenberg . . .	7,071
8 Bernina . . .	1843-64	8 Splügen . . .	6,946
9 Albula . . .	1856-65	9 St. Gotthard . . .	6,942
10 Brünig . . .	1860-61	10 San Bernardino . . .	6,769
11 Axenstrasse . . .	1860-64	11 Oberalp . . .	6,733
12 Oberalp . . .	1863-66	12 Simplon . . .	6,634
13 Furka . . .	1863-67	13 Lukmanier . . .	6,290
14 Flüela . . .	1867	14 Maloja . . .	5,942
15 Schyn . . .	1869	15 Brünig . . .	3,396
16 Ofenberg . . .	1871-72	16 Axenstrasse . . .	—
17 Lukmanier . . .	1871-77	17 Schyn . . .	—

Of these the Simplon was by far the most expensive to construct. Eleven of them are wholly or in part within the canton of Graubünden, the largest in the Confederation. In 1861 the Federal Assembly voted

one and three-quarter million francs for the construction of three military Alpine roads (Furka, Oberalp, Axenstrasse), and one million for the completion of the great Graubünden system of roads.

Such is an outline of the history of the increased facilities for travellers in Switzerland afforded by inns, railways, steamers, and carriage roads. This opening up of the country to others than rich 'milords' has of course produced a corresponding change in the nature of the favourite guide-books. Speaking very generally, we may say that while the earlier guide-books paid special attention to man and man's works in Switzerland, the later ones (from Ebel onwards) devote themselves rather to pointing out the beauties of nature, the latest giving short practical directions how to see, eat, and drink the most in the shortest time and at the smallest expense. Thus certain aspects of the land and people which were formerly insisted on have now dropped almost out of the sight and hearing of the ordinary Swiss tourist, who thinks of the inns and of the mountains, and pays little heed to the political, social, or religious state of the Confederation.

In the history of Swiss guide-books which I have tried to trace through the past two hundred years the works of six men stand out most prominently, each marking an epoch or turning-point in the development of this kind of literary production. Wagner (1684) is the antiquarian, while Ruchat (1714) is the statesman and politician. Ebel (1793) represents the longing

after the primitive simplicity to be found in the mountain valleys, and the dawning admiration for the more savage beauties of nature. Murray (1838) writes for the leisurely cultured traveller whose mind is filled with poetical and historical reminiscences. Bäderer (1844) is strictly practical and modern, while Ball (1863) represents the advance in natural science as well as the assault on the mysterious ice world. Yet though there are so many Swiss guide-books of such great though different degrees of merit, I venture to think there is room for two more, which might be roughly described as a revised Murray and a revised Ball. By the former I mean a work devoted to a description of the past and present state of the country as regards its political, religious, social, and economical condition. By the latter I mean a book devoted exclusively to the ice and snow region, which would therein be described in minute detail, the work thus serving as a summary of past and a guide to future exploration. In fact, I wish to see two more special subject guide-books, for I am convinced that the ideal guide-book is not a general one in which many matters are touched on briefly, but a book in many sections, each treating fully of some one aspect of the country or people. If it be objected to this suggestion that the proposed guide-book would be too large for general use, I would reply that it is not intended for those who try to 'do' Switzerland as quickly and cheaply as possible, but for the smaller number who visit the country again and again, and find on each visit something fresh and delightful. By all means let the Swiss tourist have

his concise and strictly practical guide-books, but let the Swiss traveller, to whom Switzerland is more than a mere playground, have his guide-books too, for he wishes to know the land and the people as they were and as they are.

Doubtless there are many Swiss guide-books, especially early ones, besides those which I have mentioned in the foregoing pages. I would most gladly receive any additional information or any corrections of my statements which my readers may send to me. I will only ask them to bear in mind that this is, so far as I am aware, the first detailed and connected attempt to trace out the history and development of guide-books for travellers in Switzerland. There are plenty of lists and accounts of books of Swiss travel which are the raw material out of which guide-books are made, but the history of Swiss guide-books seems to have attracted very little attention. Indeed, save for the assistance rendered me by a passing note of Mr. D. W. Freshfield,<sup>85</sup> and by parts of the essay by Prof. Osenbrüggen mentioned in note 1, and in particular by a brief but most useful sketch in Herr Peyer's book (pp. 159-68), I have had to work out the history from the books themselves, and it is only to be expected that in the first attempt to survey a nearly unknown district there should be both errors and omissions.

## APPENDICES

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### APPENDIX A.

*Reference List of the names of the principal Swiss guide-books, with dates of the first known and (if necessary) of the final edition.*

#### I. GENERAL.

- 1684-1701 Wagner.  
1714-1778 'DÉLICES DE LA SUISSE.'  
1785 Reichard.  
1787-1796 Heidegger.  
1788-1794 'Guide du Voyageur en Suisse' (T. M.'s book in French).  
1790 'Guide des Voyageurs en Suisse.'  
1793-1843 EBEL.  
1796 Heinzmann's 'Nachrichten.'  
1810 H. M.'s 'Itinéraire Général de la Suisse.'  
1818 Glutz-Blotzheim (i.e. fusion of Heidegger and Ebel).  
1818-1835 'The Traveller's Guide through Switzerland.'  
1820-1833 Mrs. Starke's 'Information and Directions.'  
1824-1843 Richard.  
1838 MURRAY. 1841 Joanne.  
1844 Bädeler. 1851 Von Escher.  
1855 Von Tschudi. 1862 Berlepsch.  
1863 BALL.

## II. LOCAL.

1. *Bernese Oberland.*

- 1777 (1787) *J. S. Wytttenbach.* 'Instruction pour les Voyageurs qui vont voir les Glaciers et les Alpes du Canton de Berne' (Berne, 28 pages, 8vo.).
- 1816 *J. R. Wyss.* 'Hand-Atlas für Reisende in das Berner Oberland' (Bern, 84 pages, 8vo.).
- 1829 'Taschenbuch für Reisende im Berner Oberlande' (published by Sauerländer of Aarau, 276 pages, 12mo.).
- 1838 'Nouvelle Description de l'Oberland Bernois à l'usage des Voyageurs' (Berne, 40 pages, 8vo.).

2. *Chamonix District.*

- 1790 *J. P. Berthout van Berchem.* 'Itinéraire de la Vallée de Chamonix' (Lausanne, 239 pages, 12mo.).
- 1791-1808 *M. T. Bourrit.* 'Itinéraire de Genève, des Glaciers de Chamouni, &c.' (Geneva, 12mo.).
- 1818 *J. P. Pictet.* 'Nouvel Itinéraire des vallées autour du Mont Blanc' (Geneva, 272 pages, small 8vo.; second edition, 1829).
- 1821 *F. J. M.* 'Itinéraire descriptif de la Vallée de Sixt, et de la Route qui y conduit' (155 pages, 12mo. Geneva).
- 1822 *J. L. Manget.* 'Description et Itinéraire des bords du lac de Genève' (small 8vo. Geneva; second edition, 1825).
- 1829 *J. L. Manget.* 'Itinéraire du voyage à Chamouny, autour du Mont Blanc, aux deux St. Bernhard, autour du lac de Genève, dans la vallée de Sixt,

- &c.' (16mo. Geneva; second edition, 1845). This work appeared in German at Aarau in 1829 (small 16mo., 198 pages).
- 1840 *J. L. Manget*. 'Chamounix, le Mont Blanc, et les deux S. Bernard' (small 8vo. Geneva). A supplement to this work, 'La Vallée de Sixt,' appeared in 1844 (small 8vo.).
- 1851 *J. M. Couttet*. 'Chamonix, le Mont Blanc, Courmayeur et le Grand Saint Bernard' (12mo. Geneva).
- 1856 *V. L.* 'Souvenirs de Sixt: Itinéraire complet de la vallée' (12mo. Geneva).
- 1869 *Venance Payot*. 'Guide-Itinéraire au Mont Blanc et dans les vallées comprises entre les deux S. Bernard et le lac de Genève' (12mo. Geneva).
- 1870 *Charles Schaub et Moïse Briquet*. 'Guide Pratique de l'Ascensionniste sur les Montagnes qui entourent le lac de Genève' (8vo. Geneva; second edition, 1879).
- 1885 *Auguste Wagnon*. 'Autour de Salvan. Excursions et Escalades de la Dent du Midi au Buet' (8vo. Morges).
- 1886 *Arthur de Claparède*. 'Champéry et le Val d'Illicz' (8vo. Geneva).

### 3. Zermatt District.

- 1850 *M. Ulrich*. 'Die Seitenthäler des Wallis und der Monte Rosa' (Zürich, 90 pages, 8vo.).
- 1881 *W. M. Conway*. 'The Zermatt Pocket Book' (London, 140 pages, 12mo.).
- 1886 *F. O. Wolf*. 'Die Visperthäler' in the 'Europäische Wanderbilder,' series (Zürich, 146 pages, 8vo.).

## APPENDIX B.

*List of the principal works relating to the Alpine regions of Switzerland and the adjacent districts, which have been published from the fifteenth century to the beginnings of modern Alpine literature.*

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[Guide-books, purely scientific works, and, with a few exceptions, descriptions of special districts, are not included in this list. For Additions see page xi.]

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*Index of Names of the Authors mentioned in the following list, with references to the numbers prefixed to their works.*

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The dates given are those of publication, save in a few instances specially indicated.

- 1 1478 *Albert von Bonstetten* (monk and dean of Einsiedeln). *Superioris Germaniæ Confœderationis urbium terrarumque situs, hominum morumque brevis descriptio* (published in 1846 in vol. iii. of the 'Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich').
- 2 1488-9 *Felix Schmid or Faber* (Dominican friar of Zürich, Basel, and Ulm). *Descriptio Sveviæ*.
- 3 1495-7 *Konrad Türost* (physician of Zürich). *De Situ Confœderatorum Descriptio*.
- 4 1500-4 *Balcus* (of Milan). *Descriptio Helvetiæ*. (Nos. 2-4 are printed in vol. vi., 1884, of the 'Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte,' issued by the 'Allgemeine Geschichtsforschende Gesellschaft der Schweiz.' Türost and Balcus are there published for the first time; an imperfect text of Schmid was printed by Goldast in his 'Rerum Svevicarum Scriptores aliquot veteres' (1605 and 1727). A facsimile of Türost's map of Switzerland (the earliest known) is annexed to the 1884 edition of his book; on it see 'Alpine Journal,' xi. 420, xii. 182).
- 5 1515 *Glareanus* (Heinrich Loriti, of Glarus). *Descriptio de Situ Helvetiæ et vicinis gentibus*. Basel, 4to. (a Latin poem in hexameters, reprinted

with additions and notes in 1735 in the 'Thesaurus Historiæ Helvetiæ').

- 6 1537 *J. Müller* (named Rhellicanus, from his native village, Rhelliken, in the canton of Zürich). Stockhornias. Basel, 8vo. (appended to his Latin translation of Plutarch's 'Life of Homer,' reprinted in Gesner's 1555 book and in Scheuchzer's 'Stoicheiographia,' 1716, pp. 246-257).
- 7 1537 *Benvenuto Cellini*. Vita di Benvenuto Cellini (journey from Padua to Lyons, by Bernina and Albula Passes, Chur, Wallenstadt, Zürich, Lausanne, and Geneva).
- 8 1538 *Ægidius Tschudi* (of Glarus). Die vralt warhafftig Alpisch Rhetia sampt dem Tract der anderen Alpgebirgen. Basel, 4to. (also in Latin, same year and place).
- 9 1541 *Konrad Gesner* (of Zürich). Epistola ad Jacobum Avienum de Montium Admirazione. Zürich, 16mo. (prefixed to Gesner's 'Libellus de lacte et operibus lactariis').
- 10 1543 *Sebastian Münster* (of Basel). Cosmographia Universalis (in German, 1544).
- 11 1546 *Johannes Stumpf* (of Zürich). Gemeiner loblicher Eydgnoschaft Stetten, Landen, und Völkern Chronickwürdiger Thaatenbeschreybung. Zürich, folio (2nd edition, 1586; 3rd, 1606. In the latter edition—over 1,500 folio pages—the title runs 'Schweytzer Chronick, das ist Beschreybunge Gemeiner,' &c. The original narrative of Stumpf's journey through Switzerland in 1544—a most interesting and curious document—is printed on pp. 233-303 of the volume in which Nos. 2-4 of this list are published. Large extracts, together with the reproduction of a small sketch-map of the

Engstlen Alp-Hasli-Grimsel district, will be found in the 'Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub,' vol. xix., 1883-4, pp. 427-57).

- 12 1555 *Konrad Gesner*. Descriptio Montis Fracti sive Montis Pilati. Zürich, 4to. (published in same volume as Gesner's tract 'De variis et admirandis Herbis,' Du Choul's 'Pilati Montis in Gallia descriptio,' and Rhellicanus's 'Stockhornias'; reprinted in Scheuchzer's 'Stoicheiographia,' 1716, pp. 225-45).
- 13 Before 1572 (date of his death) *Ægidius Tschudi*. Haupt-Schlüssel zu zerschidenen Alterthumen oder Gründliche—theils Historische—theils Topographische Beschreibung von dem Ursprung, Landmarchen, Alten Namen, und Mutter-Sprachen GALLIÆ COMATÆ (published 1758 at Constanz, in folio, by J. J. Gallati, of Glarus).
- 14 1574 *Josias Simler* (of Zürich). Vallesiae Descriptio, libri ii.; De Alpibus Commentarius. Zürich, 8vo. (reprinted by the Elzevirs in 1633).
- 15 1577 *Josias Simler*. De Helvetiorum Republicâ. Zürich and Basel, 8vo. (also in German).
- 16 1605 *H. R. Rebman* (of Muri). Ein Lustig unnd Ernsthafft Poetisch Gastmal und Gespräch zweyer Bergen, in der Loblichen Eydgnossschafft, und im Berner Gebiet gelegen: Nemlich dess Niesens, unnd Stockhorns, als zweyer alten Nachbawren. Bern, 8vo. (also in 1606; enlarged edition in 1620, from which I copy the above title).
- 17 1611 *T. Coryate*. Coryat's Crudities hastily gobbled up in five moneths Travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia, comonly called the Gryson's country: Helvetia alias Switzerland, some parts of High Germany, and the Netherlands; newly digested in

- the hungry air of Odcombe in the County of Somerset, and now dispersed to the nourishment of the Travelling Members of this Kingdome. London, 4to. (contains an account of his journey over the Splügen, to Chur, Zürich, and Basel, in 1608; reprinted in 8 8vo. vols. in 1776).
- 18 1617 *Fortunatus Sprecher von Bernegg*. Pallas Rhætica armata et togata. Basel, 4to. (reprinted by the Elzevirs in 1633).
- 19 1642 *Matthew Merian and Martin Zeiller*. Topographia Helvetiæ, Rhetiæ et Valesiæ. Frankfort, folio (another edition in 1654).
- 20 1646 *John Evelyn*. Diary (passage of the Simplon).
- 21 1655 *Isaac Wake*. A Threefold Help to Politicall Observations. i. concerning the xiii. Cantons of the Helveticall League. London, 8vo.
- 22 1656 *J. B. Plantin* (of Lausanne). Helvetia Antiqua et Nova. Bern, 12mo.
- 23 1665 *A. Kircher*. Mundus Subterraneus. Amsterdam, folio.
- 24 1670 *R. Lassels*. Voyage through Italy (2 parts). London, 8vo.
- 25 1680 *J. J. Wagner*. Historia Naturalis Helvetiæ Curiosa. Zürich, 12mo.
- 26 1686 *Gilbert Burnet*. Some Letters containing an Account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, &c. London, 8vo.
- 27 1705 *J. Addison*. Remarks on several parts of Italy and Switzerland. London, 8vo.
- 28 1706-8 *J. J. Scheuchzer*. Beschreibung der Naturgeschichten des Schweitzerlandes. Zürich, 3 vols. 4to.
- 29 1708 *J. J. Scheuchzer*. Οὔρεσιφοίτης Helveticus sive Itinera Alpina Tria (1702-4). London, 4to.

- 30 1714 *Abraham Stanyan*. An account of Switzerland. Written in the year 1714. London, 8vo.
- 31 1716-18 *J. J. Scheuchzer*. *Natur-Historie des Schweitzerlandes*. Zürich, 4to. (originally issued in three distinct parts: (1) *Helvetiæ Stoicheiographia, Orographia et Oreographia*, 1716; (2) *Hydrographia Helvetica*, 1717; (3) *Meteorologia et Oryctographia Helvetica*, 1718. These were in 1752 reissued in 3 vols. 4to., at Zürich, under the general title given above).
- 32 1723 *J. J. Scheuchzer*. *Ὀρεισιποίησις Helveticus sive Itinera per Helvetiæ Alpinas Regiones facta annis MDCCII ad MDCCXI*. Leyden, 4 vols. 4to. (vol. i. is a new edition of No. 29; a new edition, enlarged and translated, of Nos. 28 and 32 appeared, under the editorship of J. G. Sulzer, in 4to., 1746, as *J. J. Scheuchzer's 'Natur-Geschichte des Schweitzerlandes, samt seinen Reisen über die Schweizerische Gebürge'*).
- 33 1732 *A. von Haller*. *Die Alpen*. Bern, 12mo. (this famous poem appeared in the first edition of Haller's '*Gedichte*').
- 34 1741-42 [*W. Windham and Pierre Martel*.] *Relation d'un Voyage aux glaciers de Savoie en l'année 1741 par M. Windam, anglois: et Voyage aux glaciers du Faucigny, 1742* (the original French text was published in 1879 by M. Théophile Dufour in the '*Echo des Alpes*,' a limited *tirage à part* being struck off).
- 35 1744 [*W. Windham and Peter Martel*.] An account of the GLACIÈRES or ICE ALPS in SAVOY. In two letters, one from an *English Gentleman* to his Friend at *Geneva*; The other from PETER MARTEL, Engineer, to the said *English Gntleman* [sic].



- London, 4to. pages ii—28 (this is the English translation—many additions and omissions—of No. 34. Two copies are in the library of the Alpine Club).
- 36 1747–65 *J. J. Leu*. Allgemeines Schweizerisches Lexicon. Zürich, 20 vols. 4to. (a supplement in 6 vols. 4to. was published by J. J. Holzhalb between 1786 and 1795).
- 37 1751 *J. G. Altmann*. Versuch einer Historischen und Physischen Beschreibung der Helvetischen Eisbergen. Zürich, 8vo.
- 38 1754–73 *David Herrliberger*. Neue und vollständige Topographie der Eydgnossenschaft in Kupfer gestochen. Zürich, 3 vols. 4to. (a collection of plates meant to supersede Merian).
- 39 1756 *F. L. Pfyster*. Promenade au Mont Pilate (an article in the 'Journal Etranger'; a revised edition appeared in 1759 in the 'Journal Helvétique').
- 40 1760 *A. F. Büsching*. Neue Erdbeschreibung. 8 vols. (Switzerland is described in vol. iv., which appeared 1760).
- 41 1760 *G. S. Gruner*. Die Eisgebirge des Schweizerlandes. Bern, 3 vols. 8vo. (revised edition published in 'London' (=Bern) in 1778, 2 vols. 8vo., under the title of 'Reisen durch die merkwürdigsten Gegenden Helvetiens').
- 42 1760 *J. J. Rousseau*. La Nouvelle Héloïse.
- 43 1765–68 *J. C. Füssi*. Staats- und Erd-Beschreibung der ganzen Helvetischen Eidgenossenschaft, derselben gemeinen Herrschaften und zugewandten Orten. Zürich, 4 vols. 8vo.
- 44 1766–70 *J. J. Rousseau*. Confessions.
- 45 1767 *M. A. Cappeller*. Pilati Montis Historia. Basel, 4to.

- 46 1770-72 *J. C. Füesslin*. Staats- und Erdbeschreibung der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. Schaffhausen, 4 vols. 8vo.
- 47 1770 *G. Walser*. Schweizer-Geographie, sammt den Merkwürdigkeiten in den Alpen und hohen Bergen. Zürich, 8vo.
- 48 1773 [*André César*] *B[ordier]*. Voyage Pitoresque [*sic*] aux Glacieres de Savoye. Fait en 1772. Geneva, 12mo.<sup>87</sup>
- 49 1773 *Marc Théodore Bourrit*. Description des Glacieres, Glaciers, et Amas de Glace du Duché de Savoye. Geneva, 8vo. (English translation by C. and F. Davy, Norwich, 1775, and second edition, 1776; a third at Dublin in 1776).
- 50 1775 [*V. B. Tscharnier and E. von Haller.*] Dictionnaire géographique, historique et politique de la Suisse. Neuchâtel, 2 vols. 8vo. (much enlarged edition published in 1788, in 3 vols., at Geneva; it was revised by J. S. Wyttenbach).
- 51 1776 [*J. A.*] *D[eluc]* and [*P. G.*] *D[entan]*. Relation de différents Voyages dans les Alpes du Faucigny. Maestricht, 12mo. (mainly a reprint from Deluc's 'Recherches sur les Modifications de l'Atmosphere,' 1772, and a Memoir laid before the Royal Society of London in 1773).
- 52 1777-80 *J. B. de Laborde and F. A. de Zurlauben*. Tableaux Topographiques, Pittoresques, Physiques, Historiques, Moraux, Politiques, Littéraires, de la Suisse. Paris, 2 vols. imp. folio, containing the 278 plates (on 216 sheets) and 2 in 4to. with the text (later edition of the text issued at Paris in 12 vols. 4to., 1784-88).
- 53 1778 *J. A. Deluc*. Lettres Physiques et Morales sur les Montagnes. The Hague, 8vo.

- 54 1779 *Goethe*. Briefe aus der Schweiz aus dem Jahre 1779 (published in 1808 in vol. ii. of his works. Goethe also visited Switzerland in 1775 and 1797).
- 55 1779 *William Coxe*. Sketches of the Natural, Civil, and Political State of Switzerland. London, 8vo.; 2nd issue in 1780 (the 2nd edition—3 vols. 8vo, 1789—and the 3rd—2 vols. 4to., 1794—bore the title of 'Travels in Switzerland.' The fourth—3 vols. 8vo., 1801—added to this 'and in the country of the Grisons.' Coxe's work is by far the best description of Switzerland by a foreigner written in the 18th century. It was translated into German in 1781, and into French in 1782).
- 56 1779-96 *H. B. de Saussure*. Voyages dans les Alpes. 4 vols. 4to., vol. i., Neuchâtel, 1779; vol. ii., Geneva, 1786; vols. iii. and iv., Neuchâtel, 1796; vols. i. and ii. were reprinted at Neuchâtel in 1803-4; as to the 8vo. edition, in 8 vols., 1780-96 etc., see note 41 below. (The 'Partie Pittoresque' of the 'Voyages' has been published separately at Paris, in several editions, between 1834 and 1880.)
- 57 1781 *M. T. Bourrit*. Description des Alpes Pennines et Rhétiennes. Geneva, 2 vols. 8vo. (new edition in 1785 at Geneva in 3 vols. 8vo., under title of 'Nouvelle Description Générale et Particulière des Glacières, Vallées de Glace et Glaciers qui forment la grande chaîne des Alpes de Suisse, d'Italie et de Savoye').
- 58 1783-7 *J. R. Schinz*. Beyträge zur nähern Kenntniss des Schweitzerlandes. Zürich, 5 vols. 8vo. (mainly relates to Tessin).
- 59 1784 *J. M. Affsprung*. Reise durch einige Cantone der Eidgenossenschaft. Leipzig, 8vo.

- 60 1784-6 *G. K. C. Storr*. Alpenreise vom Jahre 1781. Leipzig, 2 vols. 4to.
- 61 1786 — *de Mayer*. Voyage en Suisse en 1784. Paris, 2 vols. 8vo.
- 62 1786 *Michel Paccard*. Premier voyage fait à la cime de la plus haute montagne du continent. Lausanne (see *M. Durier's* 'Le Mont Blanc,' 2nd edition, p. 109, *n.*).
- 63 1787 *F. Kuhn*. Versuch einer Beschreibung des Grindelwaldthales (Part i.—all completed—in vol. i. of *Höpfner's* 'Magazin für die Naturkunde Helvetiens').
- 64 1787-93 *P. Bridel*. Mélanges Helvétiques de 1782 à 1793. Lausanne, 3 vols. 18mo. (revised edition of many narratives of Swiss wanderings originally published in the 'Etrennes Helvétiques').
- 65 1788 *T[homas] M[artyn]*. Sketch of a Tour through Switzerland. London, 12mo.
- 66 1788-90 *C. Meiners*. Briefe über die Schweiz. Berlin, 4 vols. 8vo.
- 67 1789 *Philippe Bridel*. Course de Basle à Bienne par les vallées du Jura. Bâle, 8vo.; also same year in German as 'Reise durch eine der romantischsten Gegenden der Schweiz, 1788' (this work created a great interest in the picturesque scenes of the Jura. It was reissued in oblong folio in 1802 under the title 'Voyage Pittoresque de Basle à Bienne,' with 36 fine plates by *P. Birmann* and a revised text).
- 68 1790 — *Robert*. Voyage dans les xiii. Cantons Suisses, les Grisons, le Vallais, et autres Pays et Etats alliés ou sujets des Suisses. Paris and Dijon, 2 vols. 8vo.
- 69 1790 *Marquis de Langle*. Tableau pittoresque de

- la Suisse. Paris, 12mo. (it was translated into English in 1800 as 'A Picturesque Description of Switzerland').
- 70 1797 *J. G. Heinzmann*. *Kleine Schweizerreise im August 1796*. Basel, 32mo.
- 71 1798 *Helen Maria Williams*. *A Tour in Switzerland, or a View of the Present State of the Governments and Manners of those Cantons*. London, 2 vols. 8vo.
- 72 1798-1802 *J. G. Ebel*. *Schilderungen der Gebirgs-völker der Schweiz*. Leipzig, 2 vols. 8vo. (chiefly devoted to Glarus and Appenzell).
- 73 1800 *Albanis Beaumont*. *Travels through the Lepontine Alps*. London, folio (Great St. Bernard, Simplon, and St. Gotthard).
- 74 1800 *Frederika Brün*. *Tagebuch einer Reise durch die östliche, südliche und italienische Schweiz*. Copenhagen, 8vo.
- 75 1800 or 1801 *A. Pictet*. *Relation d'un accident fatal arrivé à un voyageur sur le glacier de Buet* (reprinted from No. 112 of the 'Bibliothèque Britannique.'—M. Eschen was killed on August 7, 1800, see 'Alpine Journal,' xiii. 179-182).
- 76 1801 *F. Meisner*. *Alpenreise mit seinen Zöglingen*. Bern, 8vo.
- 77 1802 *J. R. Steinmüller*. *Beschreibung der schweiz. Alpen- und Landwirthschaft in den Cantonen Glarus und Appenzell*. Winterthur, 2 vols. 8vo.
- 78 1803 *M. T. Bourrit*. *Description des Cols, ou Passages des Alpes*. Geneva, 2 vols. 8vo. (in part a reproduction of previous works by the same author).
- 79 1804 *Schiller*. *Wilhelm Tell* (finished Feb. 20, first performed on March 17. The descriptions are

based on the Scheuchzer of 1746—see No. 32 of this list—Fäsi, the Ebel of 1798, and Meiners, for Schiller himself never visited Switzerland, though he learned much about it from his wife, Charlotte von Lengefeld, who had made a tour through the country just before she met Schiller for the first time).

- 80 1805 [*Reichard.*] *Malerische Reise durch einen grossen Theil der Schweiz vor und nach der Revolution.* Jena, 8vo.
- 81 1805 *F. A. de Chateaubriand.* *Voyage au Mont Blanc.*
- 82 1812 *P. X. Leschevin.* *Voyage à Genève et à la Vallée de Chamouni en Savoie.* Paris and Geneva, 12mo.
- 83 [1811] [*J. R. and H. Meyer.*] *Reise auf den Jungfrau-Gletscher und Ersteigung seines Gipfels, von Joh. Rudolf Meyer und Hieronymus Meyer aus Aarau im Augustmonat 1811 unternommen, 12mo., 32 pages (reprinted from 'Miscellen für die neueste Weltkunde.' First ascent of the Jungfrau).*
- 84 1813 [*H. Zschokke.*] *Reise auf die Eisgebirge des Kantons Bern und Ersteigung ihrer höchsten Gipfel im Sommer 1812.* Aarau, 8vo., with a map (narrative of second ascent of the Jungfrau, compiled by Zschokke after information given him by Rudolf and Gottlieb Meyer).
- 85 1814 *F. N. König.* *Reise in die Alpen.* Bern, 8vo. (relates to the Bernese Oberland only).
- 86 1814 — *Alpine Sketches, comprised in a Short Tour through parts of Holland, Flanders, France, Savoy, Switzerland, and Germany, during the Summer of 1814. By a Member of the University of Oxford.* London, 8vo.

- 87 1815 *A. Yosy*. Switzerland, with Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the Swiss. London, 2 vols. large square 8vo. (50 coloured plates).
- 88 1816 *Duchess of Devonshire*. Journey through Switzerland. London, 8vo.
- 89 1816 *Lord Byron*. Journal from September 18–25.
- 90 1816–17 *J. R. Wyss*. Reise in das Berner Oberland. Bern, 2 vols. 8vo., with Atlas (French edition in 2 vols., Berne, 1817).
- 91 1817 *P. B. Shelley*. History of a Six Weeks' Tour.
- 92 1817 *F. Parrot*. Ueber die Schneegränze auf den mittäglichen Seite des Rosagebirges und barometrische Messungen (in 'Journal f. Chemie u. Physik,' vol. 19, part 4).
- 93 1818 — A Walk through Switzerland in September 1816. London, 8vo.
- 94 1820 *Major Cockburn*. Swiss Scenery. London, royal 8vo.
- 95 1820 *J. Hamel*. Reisen auf den Montblanc im August 1820. Basel, 12mo. (translated from the August number of the 'Bibliothèque Universelle' of Geneva).
- 96 1821 *J. Hamel*. Beschreibung zweyer Reisen auf den Montblanc unternommen im August 1820. Vienna, 8vo. (reprinted from the 'Conversationsblatt').
- 97 1821 *F. Meisner*. Reise durch das Berner Oberland nach Unterwalden. Bern, 8vo. (2nd edition 1836).
- 98 1822 *F. Meisner*. Reise durch Unterwalden, Uri und Ursern über die Furca und Grimsel nach Interlachen. Bern, 8vo. (2nd edition 1837).

- 99 1822 *K. Kasthofer*. Bemerkungen auf einer Alpen-Reise über den Susten, Gotthard, Bernardin, und über die Oberalp, Furka und Grimsel. Aarau, 8vo.
- 100 1822 *L. Simond*. Voyage en Suisse. Strasburg, 2 vols. 8vo. (translated into English in 1823).
- 101 1823 *F. Clissold*. Narrative of an Ascent to the Summit of Mont Blanc. London, 8vo.
- 102 1823-32 *H. Sazerac and G. Engelmann*. Lettres sur la Suisse. Paris, 5 vols. folio (112 plates by Villeneuve).
- 103 1823 *Dés. Raoul-Rochette*. Lettres sur la Suisse écrites en 1819-21. Paris, 2 vols. 8vo.
- 104 1823 *R. Bakewell*. Travels, comprising observations made during a residence in the Tarentaise, and various parts of the Grecian and Pennine Alps, and in Switzerland and Auvergne, in the years 1820, 1821, and 1822. London, 2 vols. 8vo.
- 105 1824 *L. von Welden*. Der Monte-Rosa. Eine topographische und naturhistorische Skizze, nebst einem Anhang der von Herrn Zumstein gemachten Reisen zur Ersteigung seiner Gipfel. Vienna, 8vo.
- 106 1824 — Letters from an Absent Brother, containing some account of a Tour through parts of the Netherlands, Switzerland, Northern Italy and France, in the summer of 1823. London, 2 vols. 8vo.
- 107 1825 *K. Kasthofer*. Bemerkungen auf einer Alpenreise über den Brünig, Brägel, Kirzenberg und über die Flüela, den Maloya und Splügen. Bern, 8vo. (French translation by E. J. Fazy-Cazal published in 1827 at Geneva and Paris as 'Voyage dans les Petits Cantons et dans les Alpes Rhétiennes').
- 108 1825 *F. Meisner*. Reise von Bern über die Gemmi



- und den Simplon nach den Borromäischen Inseln. Bern, 8vo.
- 109 1825 *Joh. Hegetschweiler*. Reisen in den Gebirgstock zwischen Glarus und Graubünden in den Jahren 1819, 1820, und 1822. Zürich, 8vo.
- 110 1825 *L. Venetz*. Apologie des Travaux du Glacier de Giétroz. Sion.
- 111 1826 *Dés. Raoul-Rochette*. Voyage pittoresque dans la Vallée de Chamonix et autour du Mont Blanc. Paris, 4to.
- 112 1827-28 *M. Lutz*. Vollständige Beschreibung des Schweizerlandes. Aarau, 4 vols. 8vo.
- 113 1827 — A Tour to Great St. Bernard's and round Mont Blanc. London, 12mo.
- 114 1827 *Markham Sherwill*. Ascension du docteur Edmund Clark et du capitaine Markham Sherwill, à la Première Sommité du Mont Blanc les 25, 26 et 27 Aout, 1825. Paris and Geneva, 8vo. (translated from the English).
- 115 1827 *Charles Fellows*. A Narrative of an Ascent to the Summit of Mont Blanc. London, 4to.
- 116 1828 *B. Hawes*. Narrative of an Ascent to the Summit of Mont Blanc, made during the Summer of 1827 by Mr. W. Hawes and Mr. C. Fellows, including a letter written by Mr. W. Hawes on the top of Mont Blanc. Privately printed, 4to.
- 117 1828 *John Auldjo*. Narrative of an Ascent to the Summit of Mont Blanc on the eighth and ninth of August 1827. London, folio (2nd edition in 8vo. 1830).
- 118 1828 *Caspar Rohrdorf*. Reise über die Grindelwald-Viescher-Gletscher, auf den Jungfrau-Gletscher, und Ersteigung des Gletschers des Jungfrau-Berges. Bern, 8vo.

- 119 [1828-29] *William Brockedon*. Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps by which Italy communicates with France, Switzerland, and Germany. London, 2 vols. 4to.
- 120 1829 *John Murray*. A Glance at some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland: with excursive Remarks on the various objects of interest, presented during a tour through its picturesque scenery. London, 12mo.
- 121 1829 *Hirzel-Escher*. Wanderungen in weniger besuchte Alpengegenden der Schweiz und ihrer nächsten Umgebungen. Zürich, 12mo.
- 122 1829-1831 [*C. von Tschärner*.] Wanderungen durch die Rhätischen Alpen. Zürich, 2 vols. 8vo.
- 123 1830 *F. J. Hugi*. Naturhistorische Alpenreise Solothurn, 8vo.
- 124 1832 *Markham Sherwill*. Historical Sketch of the Valley of Chamouni. Paris.
- 125 1832 *R. Topffer*. Excursions dans les Alpes (this was the first of the ten small lithographed accounts of Topffer's journeys which were published up to 1843. A collected edition was issued later, under the title of 'Voyages en Zigzag.' A copy of the 3rd—1850—edition in my possession contains the journeys from 1837 to 1842, both inclusive).
- 126 1832 *W. Lyddiard*. Three Months' Tour in Switzerland and France, with a Route to Chamouni, the Bernese Alps, etc. London, 8vo.
- 127 1833 *L. Agassiz*. A Journey to Switzerland and Pedestrian Tours in that country; including a sketch of its history, and of the manners and customs of its inhabitants. London, 8vo.
- 128 1833 *William Brockedon*. Journals of Excursions

in the Alps: the Pennine, Graian, Cottian, Rhætian, Lepontian, and Bernese. London, 8vo. (3rd edition in 1845).

- 129 1833 or 1834 *Alexandre Dumas*. Impressions de Voyage—Suisse. Paris, folio.
- 130 1834 *J. Carne*. Letters from Switzerland and Italy, during a late Tour. London, 8vo.
- 131 1835 *Marc Viridet*. Viège, Saint-Nicolas et Saas, ou Recherches sur la Géographie, sur les Mœurs, et sur l'Histoire Civile, Ecclésiastique, Physique et Naturelle des Vallées de Saas et de Saint-Nicolas, en Valais. Geneva, 12mo. (Part i. only published.)
- 132 1835 *Marc Viridet*. Passage du Roth-horn, Montagne de la Vallée de Saas, en Valais. 2nd edition. Geneva, 12mo. (1st edition of 80 copies in 1833 in the 'Etudiant Gènevois').
- 133 1835 *Comte Henri de Tilly*. Ascensions aux cimes de l'Etna et du Mont Blanc. Geneva, 8vo.
- 134 1835 [*E. S. Rickman*.] The Diary of a Solitaire; or sketch of a Pedestrian Excursion through part of Switzerland. London, 4to.
- 135 1836 *Martin Barry*. Ascent to the Summit of Mont Blanc in 1834. London, 8vo.
- 136 1836 *W. Beattie*. Switzerland illustrated in a series of Views by W. H. Bartlett. London, 2 vols. 4to.
- 137 1837 *John Macgregor*. My Notebook. Frankfort on the Main, 16mo.
- 138 1838 [*H. M. Atkins*.] Ascent to the Summit of Mont Blanc on the 22nd and 23rd of August, 1837. Not published. London, 8vo.
- 139 1838 *H. Zschokke*. Vues Classiques de la Suisse. Carlsruhe, 2 vols. (3rd edition in German by Göttinger at Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1871, in 4to.).
- 140 1838 *G. Meyer von Knorau*. Erdkunde der

Schweizerischen Eidsgenossenschaft; 2nd edition. Zürich, 2 vols. 8vo. (the first edition—1824—was a mere sketch).

- 141 1839 *C. J. Latrobe*. The Alpenstock; or Sketches of  
 •Swiss Scenery and Manners, 1825-26. London, 8vo.
- 142 1840 *H. D. Inglis*. Switzerland, the South of  
 France, and the Pyrenees. London, large 8vo.
- 143 1840 *C. M. Engelhardt*. Naturschilderungen, Sit-  
 tenzüge und wissenschaftliche Bemerkungen aus  
 den höchsten Schweizer-Alpen, besonders in Süd-  
 Wallis und Graubünden. Paris, Strasburg, and  
 Basel, 8vo.
- 144 1840 *J. Fröbel*. Reise in die weniger bekannte  
 Thäler auf der Nordseite der Penninischen Alpen.  
 Berlin, 8vo.
- 145 1840 *A. Schott*. Die Deutschen am Monte-Rosa,  
 mit ihren Stammgenossen im Wallis und Uecht-  
 land. Zürich, 4to.
- 146 1842 *A. Schott*. Die Deutschen Colonien in Pie-  
 mont, ihr Land, ihre Mundart und Herkunft: ein  
 Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alpen. Stuttgart and  
 Tübingen, 1842, 8vo.
- 147 1843 *J. D. Forbes*. Travels in the Alps of Savoy  
 and other parts of the Pennine Chain. Edinburgh  
 and London, large 8vo. (2nd edition in 1845).
- 148 1843 *G. Barnard*. Switzerland: Scenes and Inci-  
 dents of Travel in the Bernese Oberland. 26 beau-  
 tifully lithographed Plates. London, royal folio.
- 149 1843 *C. Vogt*. Im Gebirg und auf den Gletschern.  
 Solothurn, 8vo.
- 150 1843 *A. Yates*. Letters written during a Journey  
 to Switzerland. London, 2 vols. 8vo.
- 151 1843 *G. H[offmann]*. Wanderungen in der Glet-  
 scherwelt. Zürich, 8vo. (relates to Uri).

- 152 1844 *G. Studer*. Topographische Mittheilungen aus dem Alpengebirge. I. Die Eiswüsten und selten betretenen Hochalpen und Bergspitzen des Kantons Bern und angrenzender Gegenden. With an Atlas. 2nd edition, Bern and St. Gallen, 8vo. (no other parts issued).
- 153 1844 *E. Desor*. Excursions et Séjours dans les Glaciers et les Hautes Régions des Alpes, de M. Agassiz et de ses compagnons de voyage. Neuchâtel and Paris, 8vo.
- 154 1845 *E. Desor*. Nouvelles Excursions et Séjours dans les Glaciers et les Hautes Régions des Alpes, de M. Agassiz et de ses compagnons de voyage. Accompagnées d'une notice sur les glaciers de l'Allée Blanche et du Val-Ferret par M. Agassiz, et d'un aperçu sur la structure géologique des Alpes, par M. B. Studer. Neuchâtel and Paris. 8vo.
- 155 1846 *J. R. Burckhardt*. Untersuchungen über die erste Bevölkerung des Alpengebirgs, insbesondere der schweizerischen Urkantone, des Berner Oberlandes und des Oberwallis (most important article of 116 pages printed in vol. iv. of 'Archiv für Schweizerische Geschichte.' Zürich, 8vo.).
- 156 [1846] *G. B. Cheever*. The Pilgrim in the Shadow of the Jungfrau Alp. London and Glasgow, 8vo. (editions from 1849 onwards are entitled 'Wanderings of a Pilgrim in the Shadow of Mont Blanc and the Jungfrau Alp').
- 157 1847 *G. Grote*. Seven Letters concerning the Politics of Switzerland pending the outbreak of the Civil War in 1847. London, 8vo. (originally letters to the *Spectator*; new edition in 1876).
- 158 1847 *F. Trench*. A Walk round Mont Blanc. London, 8vo.

- 159 1848 *Baptist W. Noel*. Notes of a Tour in Switzerland, in the Summer of 1847. London, 8vo.
- 160 1849 *John Forbes*. A Physician's Holiday, or a Month in Switzerland in the Summer of 1848. London, 8vo. (2nd edition in 1850).
- 161 1850 *Melchior Ulrich*. Die Seitenthäler des Wallis und der Monte Rosa topographisch geschildert. Zürich, 8vo. (revised and enlarged edition of two lectures delivered before the Natural History Society of Zürich, and printed in its 'Mittheilungen').
- 162 1850 *G. Studer*. Das Panorama von Bern: Schilderung der in Berns Umgebungen sichtbaren Gebirge. Bern, 8vo.
- 163 1852 *G. Lory*. Voyage Pittoresque de l'Oberland Bernois. 30 coloured plates. Paris, folio.
- 164 1852 *C. M. Engelhardt*. Das Monte-Rosa- und Matterhorn-[Mont Cervin]-Gebirg aus der Inseite seines Erhebungsbogens gen Nord; seine Ausläufer und Umgrenzung, besonders der Saasgrat mit dem Mischabeldom über dem Gletscherkrater von Fee. Paris and Strasburg, 8vo.
- 165 1853 *Albert Smith*. The Story of Mont Blanc. London, 8vo. (there is a privately printed edition of 1852).
- 166 1853 *J. D. Forbes*. Norway and its Glaciers visited in 1851; followed by Journals of Excursions in the High Alps of Dauphiné, Berne, and Savoy. London, large 8vo. (includes ascent of Jungfrau and passage of Col du Tour).
- 167 1853 *F. von Tschudi*. Das Thierleben der Alpenwelt. Leipzig, 8vo. (an English translation of selections from this work was published in London in 1856, 8vo., under the title 'Sketches of Nature in the Alps').

- 168 1854 *A. and H. Schlagintweit*. Neue Untersuchungen über die physikalische Geographie und die Geologie der Alpen. Leipzig, 1854, 4to. (contains an account of an attempt on Monte Rosa in 1851, and of other Alpine expeditions).
- 169 1854 *Walter White*. To Mont Blanc and Back Again. London, 8vo.
- 170 1854 *Charles Williams*. The Alps, Switzerland, and the North of Italy. London, imp. 8vo.
- 171 1854 [*W. Bainbridge*.] Alpine Lyrics. London, 8vo.
- 172 1854 *P. Ober*. L'Oberland Bernois sous les Rapports Historique, Scientifique et Topographique. Journal d'un Voyageur. Bern, 2 vols. 8vo.
- 173 1855 *W. G. Heathman*. Switzerland in 1854-55. London, 8vo.
- 174 1855 *J. D. Forbes*. The Tour of Mont Blanc and of Monte Rosa—being a Personal Narrative abridged from the author's 'Travels in the Alps of Savoy.' London, 8vo.
- 175 1856 *Comtesse Dora d'Istria*. La Suisse Allemande et l'Ascension du Moench. Paris and Geneva, 4 vols. 8vo.
- 176 1856 *A. Wills*. Wanderings among the High Alps. London, 8vo.
- 177 1856 *C. Hudson and E. S. Kennedy*. Where there's a Will there's a Way: an Ascent of Mont Blanc by a New Route and Without Guides. London, 8vo. (in the second edition, also issued in 1856, there were added narratives of Mr. Kennedy's attempt on Monte Rosa in 1854 and of the successful ascent in 1855 by Mr. Hudson and party).
- 178 1856 *W. Longman and H. Trower*. Journal of

- Six Weeks' Adventures in Switzerland, Piedmont, and on the Italian Lakes—June, July, August, 1856. London, 8vo.
- 179 1856 *Eustace Anderson*. Chamouni and Mont Blanc: a Visit to the Valley and an Ascent of the Mountain in the autumn of 1855. London, 8vo.
- 180 1856 *John Ruskin*. Modern Painters. Vol. iv. London, 4to. (this volume contains the famous chapter on Mountain Beauty).
- 181 To these we may add two periodicals, Albrecht Höpfner's 'Magazin für die Naturkunde Helvetiens' (Zürich, 4 vols. 8vo. 1787-89), and Von Salis and Steinmüller's 'Alpina' (Winterthur, 4 vols. 8vo. 1806-9), a continuation of the latter (Winterthur, 2 vols. 8vo. 1821-27) being issued under the title of 'Neue Alpina' by Steinmüller alone.
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*Supplementary List of some of the principal works relating to the Alps, published in English since 1856.*

- 182 1857 *T. W. Hinchliff*. Summer Months among the Alps: with the ascent of Monte Rosa. London, 8vo.
- 183 1858 *S. W. King*. The Italian Valleys of the Pennine Alps: a Tour through all the romantic and less-frequented 'Vals' of Northern Piedmont, from the Tarentaise to the Gries. London, 8vo.
- 184 1859 ——— Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers. A Series of Excursions by Members of the Alpine Club.



- Edited by John Ball. London, 8vo. (Knapsack edition. London, 8vo. 1860.)
- 185 1859 [Mrs. H. W. Cole.] A Lady's Tour round Monte Rosa; with visits to the Italian valleys of Anzasca, Mastalone, Camasco, Sesia, Lys, Challant, Aosta, and Cogne. In a series of Excursions in the years 1850-56-58. London, 8vo.
- 186 1859 E. T. Coleman. Scenes from the Snow Fields: being Illustrations from the Upper Ice-World of Mont Blanc. Twelve Lithographs by Vincent Brooks. London, folio.
- 187 1860 A. Wills. 'The Eagle's Nest' in the Valley of Sixt; a Summer Home among the Alps: together with some Excursions among the Great Glaciers. London, 8vo.
- 188 1860 J. Tyndall. The Glaciers of the Alps. Being a Narrative of Excursions and Ascents, an Account of the Origin and Phenomena of Glaciers, and an Exposition of the Physical Principles to which they are related. London, 8vo.
- 189 1860 'A Lady.' The Cottages of the Alps: or Life and Manners in Switzerland. London, 2 vols. 8vo.
- 190 1861 H. A. Berlepsch. The Alps, or Sketches of Life and Nature in the Mountains. Translated by Leslie Stephen. London, 8vo. (translation of 'Die Alpen in Natur- und Lebensbildern').
- 191 1861 [Mrs. Henry Freshfield.] Alpine Byways, or Light Leaves gathered in 1859 and 1860. London, 8vo.
- 192 1861 ——— Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860. Edited by Francis Galton. Cambridge and London, 8vo. (has papers on the Grand Paradis and Mont Iseran, Allalinhorn, first attempt on the Matterhorn from Italy, Lawinenthor).

- 193 1862 [—] Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers; being Excursions by the Members of the Alpine Club. Second series. Edited by E. S. Kennedy. London, 2 vols. 8vo.
- 194 1862 *J. Tyndall*. Mountaineering in 1861. A Vacation Tour. London, 8vo.
- 195 1862 *Mrs. Henry Freshfield*. A Summer Tour in the Grisons and Italian Valleys of the Bernina. London, 8vo.
- 196 1863 ——— The Alpine Journal: a Record of Mountain Adventure and Scientific Information. By Members of the Alpine Club. London, 8vo. (first number appeared in March 1863; current number, No. 104, in May 1889).
- 197 1864 [*Miss L. Tuckett*.] How we spent the Summer: or, a Voyage *en zigzag*. London, oblong 4to. (fourth edition in 1871).
- 198 1864 *John Barrow*. Expeditions on the Glaciers. London, 8vo.
- 199 1865 *D. W. Freshfield*. Across Country from Thonon to Trent: Rambles and Scrambles in Switzerland and the Tyrol. London, 8vo.
- 200 1865 *G. F. Browne*. Ice-Caves of France and Switzerland. A Narrative of Subterranean Exploration. London, 8vo.
- 201 1865 *Harry Jones*. The Regular Swiss Round, in Three Trips. London, 12mo.
- 202 1866 *H. B. George*. The Oberland and its Glaciers: Explored and Illustrated with Ice-Axe and Camera. London, 4to.
- 203 1867 *A. W. Moore*. The Alps in 1864. A Private Journal. 8vo. (privately printed).
- 204 1867 *Elijah Walton*. The Peaks and Valleys of the Alps; with descriptive text by T. G. Bonney. London, folio.

- 205 1868 *T. G. Bonney*. The Alpine Regions of Switzerland and the Neighbouring Countries; a Pedestrian's Notes on their Physical Features, Scenery, and Natural History. London, 8vo.
- 206 1869 *W. Dowsing*. Rambles in Switzerland. Kingston-upon-Hull and London, 8vo.
- 207 1869 *Elijah Walton*. Clouds and their Combinations. London, folio.
- 208 1870 *A. G. Girdlestone*. The High Alps Without Guides: being a Narrative of Adventures in Switzerland, together with Chapters on the Practicability of such Mode of Mountaineering, and Suggestions for its Accomplishment. London, 8vo.
- 209 About 1870 ——— Swiss Pictures drawn with Pen and Pencil. Religious Tract Society.
- 210 1871 *E. Whymper*. Scrambles amongst the Alps in the Years 1860-69. London, 8vo. (certain chapters of this work, revised, and accompanied by additional engravings, appeared in 1880 under the title 'The Ascent of the Matterhorn.' London, 8vo. The original work was issued in a German translation by F. Steger at Brunswick in 1872 in 8vo., and in a French one by Adolphe Joanne in 1875 at Paris in large 8vo.).
- 211 1871 *Leslie Stephen*. The Playground of Europe. London, 8vo.
- 212 1871 *J. Tyndall*. Hours of Exercise in the Alps. London, 8vo.
- 213 1872 *Elijah Walton*. Peaks in Pen and Pencil for Students of Alpine Scenery. Edited by T. G. Bonney. London, folio.
- 214 1872 *W. Hepworth Dixon*. The Switzers. London, 2 vols. 8vo.

- 215 1872 *J. Michelet*. The Mountain. Translated by W. Davenport Adams. London, 8vo.
- 216 1873 *Elijah Walton*. Vignettes, Alpine and Eastern. With text by T. G. Bonney. London, folio.
- 217 1873 *J. C. Shairp, P. G. Tait, and A. Adams-Reilly*. Life and Letters of J. D. Forbes. London, 8vo.
- 218 1873 *F. Barham Zincke*. A Month in Switzerland. London, 8vo.
- 219 1873-74 *F. F. Tuckett*. Hochalpenstudien. Leipzig, 2 vols. 8vo. (a very useful collection of Mr. Tuckett's Alpine articles, translated into German by August Cordes, and containing all the sketches, maps, and panoramas).
- 220 1874 *Elijah Walton*. The Bernese Oberland. With text by T. G. Bonney. London, folio.
- 221 1874 *F. Barham Zincke*. Swiss Allmends and a Walk to see them, being a Second Month in Switzerland. London, 8vo.
- 222 1875 *F. Barham Zincke*. A Walk in the Grisons. London, 8vo.
- 223 1875 *Hon. Frederica Plunket*. Here and There among the Alps. London, 8vo.
- 224 1875 '*Five Ladies*.' Swiss Notes. Leeds, 8vo.
- 225 1875 ——— Switzerland and the Swiss. Sketches of the Country and its Famous Men by an American Resident. Zürich, 8vo.
- 226 1876 *D. W. Freshfield*. Italian Alps. Sketches in the Mountains of Ticino, Lombardy, the Trentino and Venetia. London, 8vo.
- 227 1877 *E. Viollet le Duc*. Mont Blanc. Translated by R. Bucknall. London, 8vo.
- 228 1878 *H. Schütz Wilson*. Alpine Ascents and Adventures; or Rock and Snow Sketches. London, 8vo. (collected edition of the author's Alpine articles).

- 229 ——— Alpine Adventure. London, 8vo. (revised edition in 1881, under the title of 'Alpine Climbing').
- 230 1879 *Count T. de Cambray Digny*. Mont Blanc. Italian Ode, translated into English verse by an Italian Alpinist (S. Fenzi), and dedicated to the members of the British Alpine Club. Florence, 8vo.
- 231 1881 ——— Switzerland : its Scenery and People pictorially represented, with Historical and Descriptive Text based on the German of Dr. Gsell-Fels. Blackie : London, 4to.
- 232 1881 *T. L. Oxley*. Jacques Balmat, or the First Ascent of Mont Blanc. London, 8vo.
- 233 1882 *S. Butler*. Alps and Sanctuaries of Piedmont and the Canton Ticino. London, 8vo.
- 234 1882 *W. H. Le Mesurier*. An Impromptu Ascent of Mont Blanc. London, 8vo.
- 235 1883 *Mrs. Fred. Burnaby*. The High Alps in Winter ; or Mountaineering in search of Health. London, 8vo.
- 236 1885 *C. T. Dent*. Above the Snow Line. Mountaineering Sketches between 1870 and 1880. London, 8vo.
- 237 1886 *Mrs. Main (Mrs. F. Burnaby)*. High Life and Towers of Silence. London, 8vo.
- 238 1887 *C. D. Cunningham and W. de W. Abney*. The Pioneers of the Alps. 4to. (2nd edition, 1888).
- 239 1889 *F. Umlauf*. The Alps. Translated by Louisa Brough. London, large 8vo.
- 240 1889 ——— Switzerland, its Mountains, Valleys, Lakes, and Rivers, with 250 Illustrations. Virtue : new edition (? date of old one). London, 4to.
- 241 1889 *F. O. Adams and C. D. Cunningham*. The Swiss Confederation. London, 8vo.

## APPENDIX C.

*List of Mountain Inns in Switzerland and the adjacent districts, with the dates at which they were built or opened.*

Before 812 Great St. Bernard.<sup>88</sup>

10th or 11th century Little St. Bernard.<sup>89</sup>

Before 1235 Simplon.<sup>90</sup>

Before 1331 St. Gotthard.<sup>91</sup>

Between 1362 and 1386 Pfäfers.<sup>92</sup>

Before 1479 GRIMSEL.<sup>93</sup>

1501 Leukerbad.<sup>94</sup>

Between 1765 and 1772 CHAMONIX.<sup>95</sup>

1767 Chapiu.<sup>96</sup>

About 1771 Rosenlani.<sup>97</sup>

By 1776 Schwarenbach.<sup>98</sup>

By 1779 Kandersteg.<sup>99</sup>

By 1781 GRINDELWALD.<sup>100</sup>

Motets.<sup>101</sup>

By 1784 LAUTERBRUNNEN.<sup>102</sup>

By 1785 Trient.<sup>103</sup>

1795 MONTENVERS.<sup>104</sup>

By 1804 All'Acqua.<sup>105</sup>

1806 St. Gervais.<sup>106</sup>

Before 1811 Sixt.<sup>107</sup>

1816 Rigi Kulm.<sup>108</sup>

1818 Pavillon Bellevue (Col de Voza).<sup>109</sup>

1822-23 Faulhorn.<sup>110</sup>

- Between 1825 and 1833 Saas.<sup>111</sup>  
 1826 Weissenstein.<sup>112</sup>  
 By 1829 Col de Balme.<sup>113</sup>  
 1830 Stachelberg.<sup>114</sup>  
 1832 St. Moritz.<sup>115</sup>  
 1833 Giessbach.<sup>116</sup>  
 1834-35 Reichenbach.<sup>117</sup>  
 By 1835 Stalden.<sup>118</sup>  
 By 1838 (1st edition of Murray)  
     Kleine Scheidegg. }<sup>119</sup>  
     Wengern Alp.       }  
     Grosse Scheidegg.<sup>120</sup>  
     Handegg.<sup>121</sup>  
     Rhone Glacier.<sup>122</sup>  
     Nant Bourrant.<sup>123</sup>  
 1839 ZERMATT.<sup>124</sup>  
 By 1840 Brienzer Rothhorn.<sup>125</sup>  
 By 1841 Stein Alp.<sup>126</sup>  
 By 1843 Viesch (Hôtel du Glacier).<sup>127</sup>  
 By 1846 Comballaz.<sup>128</sup>  
 By 1848 Cantine de Proz.<sup>129</sup>  
 1849 St. Niklaus.<sup>130</sup>  
 By 1851 Flégère.<sup>131</sup>  
 1851 Tête Noire.<sup>132</sup>  
 1852 Furka.<sup>133</sup>  
 By 1854 Engelberg.<sup>134</sup>  
     Macugnaga (Lochmatter's).<sup>135</sup>  
     Maloja.<sup>136</sup>  
     Pontresina.<sup>137</sup>  
 1854 RIFFELHAUS.<sup>138</sup>  
     St. Théodule.<sup>139</sup>  
 By 1855 Courmayeur (Bertolini's).<sup>140</sup>  
 1855 Gressoney (DelaPierre's).<sup>141</sup>  
     Val Tournanche.<sup>142</sup>

- 1856 EGGISCHHORN.<sup>143</sup>  
     Breil.<sup>144</sup>  
     Engstlen Alp.<sup>145</sup>  
     Mattmark.<sup>146</sup>
- 1856-57 Champéry.<sup>147</sup>
- 1857 Aosta (H. du Mont Blanc).<sup>148</sup>  
     Mürren.<sup>149</sup>  
     Niesen.<sup>150</sup>
- 1857-58 Mont Fréty.<sup>151</sup>
- 1858 Evolena.<sup>152</sup>  
     Ormonts Dessus (H. des Diablerets).
- 1858-59 Pilatus.
- By 1859 Seelisberg.  
     Trachsellaunen.
- 1859 Zinal.<sup>153</sup>
- 1860 BELALP.  
     Randa.<sup>154</sup>  
     St. Luc.
- About 1860 Hôtel Wetterhorn.<sup>155</sup>
- By 1861 Rieder Alp.
- 1861 Gruben.<sup>156</sup>
- By 1862-63 Pavillon de Trélatête.<sup>157</sup>
- About 1862 Pierre Pointue.<sup>158</sup>
- By 1863 Frohn Alp.
- 1863 Scheinige Platte.<sup>159</sup>  
     Mauvoisin (H. Gétroz).
- By 1864 Bärenegg.<sup>160</sup>
- 1864 Tosa Falls.
- 1865 Waldibalm (Maderanerthal).<sup>161</sup>
- About 1865 Beatenberg.<sup>162</sup>
- 1865-66 Arolla.<sup>163</sup>
- 1867 Monte Generoso.<sup>164</sup>
- 1867 Monte Prosa (St. Gotthard).<sup>165</sup>  
     Waldspitz.<sup>166</sup>



- 1868 Alpiglen.<sup>167</sup>  
     Säntis.<sup>168</sup>  
 About 1868 Davos.<sup>169</sup>  
     Fiéry.<sup>170</sup>  
 1868-69 Ried.<sup>171</sup>  
 Between 1870 and 1872 Männlichen.<sup>172</sup>  
 By 1871 Axenstein.  
     Gross Mythen.  
 By 1874 Trübsee.  
 1875-76 Ferpècle.<sup>173</sup>  
 1878 Col d'Ollen.<sup>174</sup>  
 By 1879 Vissoie.<sup>175</sup>  
 By 1880 Alpe di Veglia.<sup>176</sup>  
     Melchsee.  
     Val Piora.  
 1880 Pavillon de l'Ognan.<sup>177</sup>  
 By 1881 Alpe Devero.<sup>178</sup>  
 1882 Fee.<sup>179</sup>  
 1883 Binn.<sup>180</sup>  
     Bignasco (H. du Glacier).<sup>181</sup>  
 1884 RIFFEL ALP.  
     Monte Motterone.  
 By 1887 Sanetsch  
     Schwarzsee.  
 1888 Prarayen.

*Supplementary List of the early Huts built at great heights.*

- 1779 Blair's cabin.<sup>182</sup>  
 1785 Bourrit's cabane at the foot of the Aiguille du  
     Goûter.<sup>183</sup>  
 1786 De Saussure's hut on the rocks of the Grands  
     Mulets.<sup>184</sup>

- 1788 De Saussure's hut on the Col du Géant.<sup>185</sup>  
1829 Hugi's hut.<sup>186</sup>  
1840 Hôtel des Neuchâtelois.<sup>187</sup>  
1843 Pavillon Dollfus.<sup>188</sup>  
1853 Grands Mulets.<sup>189</sup>  
1854 Guichard's cabane at the foot of the Aiguille du  
Goûter.<sup>190</sup>  
1858 Aiguille du Goûter.<sup>191</sup>  
1863 Aiguille du Midi.<sup>192</sup>  
1863-64 Grünhorn Hütte (Tödi).<sup>193</sup>  
1864 Trift Hütte (Gadmenthal).<sup>194</sup>  
1865 Faulberg.<sup>195</sup>  
1867 Italian hut on the Matterhorn.<sup>196</sup>  
1868 Swiss hut on the Matterhorn.<sup>197</sup>  
1869 Bergli Hütte.<sup>198</sup>  
1870 Gleckstein or Weisshorn Hütte.<sup>199</sup>  
1875 Stockje Hütte.<sup>200</sup>  
1877 Schwarzegg Hütte.<sup>201</sup>

## NOTES

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1 I may mention here a few general works which have been specially useful to me. I need hardly say that I am deeply indebted to Herr Bernhard Studer's '*Geschichte der physischen Geographie der Schweiz bis 1815*' (Bern and Zürich, 1863), a marvellous and admirably arranged storehouse of facts. It is as indispensable to any one interested in the early explorations of Switzerland as a whole, as the work of his cousin, Herr Gottlieb Studer, '*Ueber Eis und Schnee*' (4 vols. Bern, 1869-83), is to any one investigating the history of the snow and ice region of Switzerland. For bibliographical details the first volume of the great work of G. E. von Haller (the son of the famous poet and naturalist), '*Bibliothek der Schweizer-Geschichte*' (Bern 1785), has been of immense service to me, as it was also to Herr B. Studer. I have frequently consulted Herr G. Peyer's '*Geschichte des Reisens in der Schweiz*' (Basel, 1885), which has supplied me with many valuable facts and hints (see the review of this book in '*Alpine Journal*,' vol. xii. p. 350). Those of my readers who desire information as to the history of the passion for Swiss travel may be referred to the following books. I would name first of all Mr. Leslie Stephen's two delightful papers (now '*Alpine classics*') on the '*Love of Mountain Scenery*,' which are reprinted, from a magazine, in chap. i. of his '*Playground of Europe*' (London, 1871). Dr. Bernhard Schwarz, in his elaborate work entitled '*Die Erschliessung der Gebirge*' (Leipzig, 1885), traces the history in detail down to De Saussure's ascent of Mont Blanc in 1787 (see the review of the book in '*Alpine*

Journal,' vol. xiii. pp. 41-44). Two German pamphlets give interesting but sketchy summaries of the history down to quite modern times—Ludwig Friedländer's 'Ueber die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Gefühls für das Romantische in der Natur' (Leipzig, 1873; reprinted with some additions in the same writer's 'Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms,' vol. ii. pp. 206-59), and Jacob Frey's 'Die Alpen im Lichte verschiedener Zeitalter' (Berlin, 1877; No. 274 of Virchow and Holtzendorff's 'Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge'). Professor Eduard Osenbrüggen's essay, 'Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Schweizreisens' (chap. i. of vol. i. of his 'Wanderstudien aus der Schweiz,' published at Schaffhausen, *sine dato sed* 1867), should perhaps be classed with these works, though now and then it makes a feeble effort, amidst many blunders, to trace out the history of Swiss guide-books.

2 'Alpine Journal,' vol. x. p. 485.

3 A. de Claparède, 'Champéry et le Val d'Illyez,' p. 26.

4 The dates usually assigned for the foundation of the hospice by St. Bernard of Menthon—962 and 968—are impossible, since as late as 973 the pass was held by Saracen marauders (see my paper in 'Alpine Journal,' vol. ix. pp. 272-74). The saint is said to have been born in 923, and to have died on June 15, 1008, but see the careful discussion by the late Prof. Aloïs Lütolf (one of the chief authorities on Swiss ecclesiastical history) in the 'Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift,' vol. lxi. (published 1879), pp. 179-207, the result of which is to prove that the holy man certainly died on June 15, 1081, having been born at the very earliest in 996. The legendary account of his life is to be found in his Life by Richard, Archdeacon of Aosta, which has been expanded and versified in the curious Old-French work 'Le Mystère de S. Bernard de Menthon,' which was first edited by M. A. Lecoy de la Marche in 1888, for the 'Société des Anciens Textes Français.' See note 88, below, pp. 192-3.

5 See the documents in vol. i. of the Abbé Gremaud's most useful *Documents relatifs à l'Histoire du Vallais* ('Mémoires et Documents de la Société d'Histoire de la Suisse Romande,' vol. xxix. 1875). The hospital of Hornechurch or Havering in

Essex was also given to the St. Bernard brothers by Henry II., and remained in their possession till the fourteenth century, when it was bought of them by William of Wykeham for his great foundation of New College, Oxford. (See Gremaud, vol. xxix. pp. 45-46, and the new edition of Dugdale's '*Monasticon Anglicanum*,' vol. vi. pp. 652-53.)

Prof. Lütolf ('*Theolog. Quartalschrift*,' vol. lxi. p. 20) suggests that the connection between the Hospice and the English kings may be explained by the influence exercised by Ermenfrid, Bishop of Sion, who was in England as papal legate in 1062 and 1070, crowning King William in the latter year, and helping in the nomination of Lanfranc to the see of Canterbury (archbishop, 1070-93). See my note on this bishop in the '*English Historical Review*,' No. 8, pp. 738-39. I would also venture to suggest that the elevation of St. Anselm to the see of Canterbury (which he held from 1093 to 1114) may further explain the interesting relations between English kings and the St. Bernard Hospice: for St. Anselm was born at Aosta in 1033, and lived there till 1060, so that he must have been personally acquainted with St. Bernard, who was the Archdeacon of Aosta.

6 See the document in Bishop Stubbs's editions of Benedict of Peterborough (vol. i. pp. 37-41), or of Roger of Hoveden (vol. ii. pp. 41-44), or in Rymer's '*Fœdera*,' vol. i. pp. 33-34 (1727 edition), or vol. i. p. 28 (1816 edition).

7 See E. Oehlmann's first article on the history of the *Alpine Passes in the Middle Ages*, '*Jahrbuch für Schweizerische Geschichte*,' vol. iii. pp. 257-62.

8 See '*Alpine Journal*,' vol. ix. pp. 271-75; vol. x. p. 273.

9 The name '*marones*' has given rise to considerable discussion, as its derivation is very obscure. It occurs also in two tenth-century passages quoted by Du Cange ('*Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*,' s.v.) One is from the life of St. Odo (879-943), Abbot of Cluny: '*Dum patriam reverteretur, inter Burdonum Alpes, &c. Secus locum autem illum habitat quoddam genus hominum, qui Marrones vocantur, et arbitror ex Marronea Aquilonari provincia illud nomen traxisse originem.*' The other is from the life of St. Gerald, Count of Orleans, by

the same St. Odo of Cluny: 'Ipsi quidem Marruci, rigentes videlicet Alpium incolæ, nihil quæstuosius æstimabant quam ut suppellectilem Geraldi per juga montis Jovina transveherent.' Du Cange is inclined to derive the term from the Mauri or Saracens who in the tenth century held the Alpine passes (see 'Alpine Journal,' vol. ix. pp. 256-76). His latest (1885) editor, M. Léopold Favre, is unable to cite any further instances in which the name is used, but seems to consider it identical with 'maronnier' (meaning a pirate, or simply a pilot or sailor, now 'marinier'), used in several documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Oehlmann (*loc. cit.* p. 252, n. 5) supplies one more instance of the term, taken from the 'Petri Damiani Gall. Profectio' by one Kadolaus of Parma (in Mai's 'Nova collectio,' vi. b. p. 198): 'Ipsa enim Joviana . . . pericula quæ vix unquam constat fuisse pervia, quæ etiam mortis ruinam transeuntibus semper minantur, nullius ut dicitur marronis subvectus auxilio non pedetemptim, ut mos est illius itineris, perrexisse sed potius cucurrisse' (the date of this passage of the St. Bernard is 1063). Scheler ('Dictionnaire d'Etymologie Française, 1873) quotes 'marron' as meaning (in addition to the ordinary sense of 'chestnut') a fugitive negro or a domestic animal who has escaped to the woods, from the Spanish 'cimarron'; but M. Littré ('Dictionnaire de la Langue Française') rejects this derivation and meaning, and says that the Low Latin 'marrones' and the Walloon 'maroner' (meaning to thief) are 'mots qui n'ont rien à faire ici' (i.e. in this article on 'marron' taken in Scheler's two senses) 'et dont l'origine est d'ailleurs inconnue.' Topffer ('Voyages en Zigzag,' 1850 edition, p. 224) speaks of encountering, on the way up the Gemmi from Leuk, 'des guides marrons, c'est à dire qui n'ont pas le droit de s'engager ici,' this sense of 'unlicensed' being probably derived from the original one of 'cimarron.' Godefroy ('Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française,' 1886) distinguishes the word 'marron,' meaning a guide, from all others referring to chestnuts, or the sea, and quotes two most interesting occurrences of the word in sixteenth-century French literature. One of these is from

Rabelais (in his 'little burlesque almanack' entitled the 'Pantagrueline Prognostication,' cap. vii.): 'Les gryphons et marrons des montaignes de Savoye, Daulphiné et Hyberborées, qui ont neiges sempiternelles, seront frustrés de ceste saison.' In the other, from the 'Mémoires' of Du Bellay (bk. ix. p. 298 of the original 1569 edition, p. 726 of Buchon's 1836 reprint in his 'Choix de Chroniques et de Mémoires sur l'Histoire de France'), we read: 'Arrivant à la Nouvalaise' (on the Italian side of the Mont Cenis) 'on lui fit entendre que la tourmente estoit sur la montagne; ce nonobstant on ne lui scent dissuader de passer ce jour là, pensant corrompre le temps, contre l'opinion de tous les marrons, qui sont ceux qui congnoissent les tourmentes de la montagne, comme font les mariniers celles de la mer.' The last words seem to suggest how 'maronnier' and 'marinier' came to be considered as having the same meaning. Bourrit, on the title-page of his 'Description des Aspects du Mont-Blanc du côté de la Val-d'Aost' (1776), mentions 'des Marons ou Crétins'; but I have not been able to find the allusion in the text, and he does not mention the term 'maronnier' when speaking of the Great St. Bernard, nor do either of these words seem to occur in his other works. His journey to the valley of Aosta was made in 1774, about two months after that by De Saussure, but his book was issued ten years earlier than De Saussure's. De Saussure, in his 'Voyages dans les Alpes' (8vo. edition, vol. iv. p. 171; 4to. edition of 1786, vol. ii. p. 389), says that in the valley of Aosta 'crétins' are called 'marons.' The same writer (8vo. edition, vol. iv. p. 238; 4to. edition of 1786, vol. ii. pp. 441-42), in his account of the St. Bernard, speaks of 'un domestique de confiance, qui se nomme le Maronnier,' who goes out with the dogs to rescue travellers crossing the pass. Mr. Freshfield ('Alpine Journal,' vol. xi. p. 300 n.), by an error caused by relying on the dates given in the 'Course of Hannibal' (1794), (vol. ii. pp. 90-93), by the Rev. John Whitaker, B.D., states that the word 'marrones' can be traced up to A.D. 560; he suggests that it is derived from 'marrone' or 'marra,' meaning a large spade or shovel used by the 'cantonniers,' or men employed to keep the great highroads in order.

The name seems throughout to have some special connection with the Great St. Bernard, and in the form 'maronnières' is still employed to designate the convent servants, who, with the brave dogs, go out to rescue travellers overtaken by a storm.

10 This seems to be the sense of a rather obscure phrase, 'mensis' being rendered as 'parties of guests.' The original runs as follows: 'ita ut aliis jam collocatis, aliis adhuc supersedentibus mensis domos juxta.'

11 See 'Gesta Abbatum Trudonensium,' book xii. p. 5. The passage is to be found in Pertz, 'Monumenta Germaniæ Historica,' Scriptores section, vol. x. p. 307, from which it is reprinted by M. Gremaud (*loc. cit.* pp. 79-80). According to Wattenbach's 'Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen' (5th edition, 1886, vol. ii. pp. 134-35), Abbot Rudolf (elected 1108, died 1138) wrote the first seven books (628-1108) of this chronicle, and it was continued by an intimate friend of his to 1136. It was later continued to 1366, and the earlier part revised at the end of the fourteenth century. Köpke's edition in the 'Scriptores' is based on the original MSS., and gives the genuine text of the work. One passage must be given in the original: 'Itaque marones, capitibus propter nimum frigus filtro pilleatis, manibus villose cyrothecatis, pedibus coturnis munitis atque subtus a planta ferreis aculeis propter lubricam glaciem armatis, hastas longas ad palpandam sub altâ nive viam in manibus ferentes, solitam audenter ingressi sunt viam.'

12 The same dread of the mountains is seen in the curse imprecated by an English scribe (938-46) on any violator of the documents he drafted: 'perpessus sit gelidis glacierum flatibus et Pennino exercitu malignorum spirituum.' (See 'Alpine Journal,' vol. xi. p. 294, note †.)

These documents are numbered 372 (dated 938), 377, 378 (939), 385, 387 (940), 388 (941), 394, 396 (943), and 407 (946), in Mr. J. M. Kemble's 'Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici' (vol. ii. published in 1840). Mr. Kemble does not mark any of them as spurious or suspicious, and does not speak of this imprecation in his discussion of the different forms of sanction used in the



charters (vol. i. pp. lxx.-lxxii.). The first three are witnessed by King Æthelstan, the others by King Edmund. There is no name among those of the witnesses, save that of the king, which occurs in every one of these nine grants. That of Ælfheah (Alphege), Bishop of Winchester (not to be confounded with his great namesake who flourished at the end of the same century), occurs in all but number 372, while that of the reigning Archbishop of Canterbury is found in all save numbers 387 and 388, though most probably the 'Oda episcopus' of these two documents is identical with the Oda, Bishop of Ramsbury (the successor of Wulfhelm, in 942, in the metropolitical see), who appears in 943 and 946. We can only conclude that the scribe was a member of the king's household, or attached to the sees of Canterbury or of Winchester, and that this formula owes its origin to some terrible experiences, probably his own, during a passage of the Alps on the way to Rome.

13 See M. Gremaud's work, vol. i. p. 87 : 'Ab urbe Mauritiæ' (St. Maurice) 'iter bidui ad hospitium Bernhardi, *Biarnhards spitale*, in monte situm, ducit. Est quoque in Alpibus hospitium Petri, *Petræ spitale*' (Bourg S. Pierre) 'ubi circa festum S. Olavi æstivum' (July 29) 'sæpe saxa nive et aqua glacie obducta conspiciuntur. Alpibus ab austro extat oppidum Threlatorp' (Etroubles). 'Tum Augusta' (Aosta) 'urbs bona.'

14 On these Itineraries see Oehlmann, *loc. cit.* vol. iii. pp. 257-64; vol. iv. pp. 283-84 and 289.

15 See the amusing extracts from the diary of a knight who spent some time at Pfäfers in 1479, given in Mr. Baillie-Grohman's 'Gaddings with a Primitive People,' vol. ii. pp. 183-87.

16 See his long and interesting account in a Latin letter addressed to a friend. It is the first letter of the fourth book of his 'De Rebus Familiaribus,' and has been translated into English by Mr. Henry Reeve in his *Life of Petrarch*, published in Messrs. Blackwood's 'Foreign Classics for English Readers'; it appears in a French dress in the 1879 and later editions of Zurcher and Margollé's 'Les Ascensions Célèbres.' For Dante and his attitude towards the mountains see an interesting paper by Mr. Freshfield ('Alpine Journal,' vol. x. pp. 400-5), and a very de-

tailed one by Signor Brentari in the '*Bollettino del Club Alpino Italiano*' for 1887 (No. 54, pp. 12-61).

17 See the description of the ascent given by one of the party, Vadianus, in his '*Commentarius in tres libros Pomponii Melæ de Situ Orbis*' (1518), and reprinted in Gesner's 1555 book.

18 It is printed as an introduction to Gesner's tractate entitled '*Libellus de lacte et operibus lactariis, philologus pariter ac medicus*' (1541). (His '*Descriptio Montis Fracti sive M. Pilati*' appeared in 1555.)

'Constitui posthac, Aviene doctissime, quàm diu mihi vita divinitus concessa fuerit, quotannis montes aliquos, aut saltem unum conscendere, cum in suo vigore plantæ sunt, partim earum cognitionis, partim honesti corporis exercitii, animique delectationis, gratiâ. Quanta enim voluptas, quantæ sunt putas animi, ut par est affecti, deliciæ, montium moles immensa spectaculo admirari, et caput tanquam inter nubes attollere! Nescio quo pacto altitudine stupenda mens percellitur rapiturque in summi illius architecti considerationem. . . . Sapientiæ studiosi pergent terrestres hujus paradisi spectacula corporeis animique oculis contemplari; inter quæ minimè postrema sunt ædita præruptaque montium fastigia, inaccessa præcipitia, ad cælum tendens laterum immanitas, rupes arduæ, opacæ sylvæ.'

These words recall the description given some years before of Leonardo da Vinci's impressions on making the ascent of the 'Monboso,' a peak on the borders of France and Italy: 'The base of this mountain gives birth to the four rivers which flow in four different directions through the whole of Europe. And no mountain has its base at so great a height as this, which lifts itself almost above the clouds, and snow seldom falls there, but only hail in the summer, when the clouds are highest. And this hail lies unmelted there, so that if it were not for the rarity of clouds falling, or mounting to it, which they do not do twice in a summer, an enormous mass of ice would be piled up there by the hail, and in the middle of July I found it very considerable, and the sun as it fell on the mountain was far brighter here than in the plains below, because a smaller extent of atmo-

sphere lay between the summit of the mountain and the sun.' I take this translation from that given by Dr. J. P. Richter in note 1060 of 'The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci' (1883), and have inserted some slight corrections suggested by Mr. Freshfield ('Alpine Journal,' vol. xii. p. 202, and 'Proceedings of the R.G.S.,' June 1884). I incline to the belief that the peak in question is the Monbego (9,326 feet) in the Maritime Alps, not very far from the Col de Tenda, and just on the borders of France and Italy.

It may be noted here that it is very unlikely that, as M. Ravaissou supposed, Leonardo ever went up the Rigi (see 'Alpine Journal,' vol. x. p. 280, vol. xii. p. 204).

19 In 1708 there was published in London by Henry Clements, by order of the Royal Society, a quarto volume of 151 pages, bearing the imprimatur of Sir Isaac Newton, P.R.S., on the title-page, and containing the narratives of these three journeys separately paged. A copy is in the library of the Alpine Club, and I recently purchased another for the modest sum of five francs, so that it does not seem to be rare, though it is very interesting. For a complete list of subscribers to the expenses of engraving the forty-two plates, see pp. 623-24 of the 1723 collected edition.

20 See specially the dragon figured opposite p. 395 of the 1723 volume (in the narrative of the 1706 journey), and reproduced in an early volume of the 'Alpine Journal' (vol. iii. p. 204). Scheuchzer prints a description (after which the engraving seems to have been modelled) of this particular monster from the 'Historia Naturalis Helvetiæ Curiosa' (1680, pp. 249-50) of J. J. Wagner, the author of the 'Mercurius Helveticus.' It was seen about 1660 on the Wangserberg, near Sargans, in Graubünden, by a certain Andreas Rodunerus (a high official of Upper Saxony) and a companion, and naturally terrified them much. Wagner adds, 'Hæc vernaculâ et propriâ manu exarata Ampl. Dn. Landmannus Rodunerus, prædicti D. Secretarii filius, communicavit.' Thus Scheuchzer simply reproduces from Wagner (and illustrates) a monster who was seen by a person of credit, whose son informed Wagner of the facts of the case,

both by word of mouth and by writing. It ought further to be noticed that this plate in Scheuchzer is not stated to have been executed at the expense of any particular benefactor, as many of his earlier plates are; but this anonymous character is shared by the other plates which represent monsters, though none are quite so appalling.

21 'Alpine Journal,' vol. viii., Appendix, pp. 43-44, note.

22 'Augent autem viarum difficultatem præcipitia et derupta loca, præsertim si glacie tecta sint itinera, quare variis rationibus sibi consulunt viatores, et pastores, ac venatores qui frequenter per altissimos montes vagantur. Nam adversus lubricitatem glaciei soleas ferreas, equorum soleis similes, tribus acutis cuspidibus præditas, firmiter pedibus alligare solent, ut vestigia in glacie firmare possint: alii corrigas, quibus calcaria astringuntur sub imo pede similiter præacuto ferro muniunt, aliaque adhibent, quæ lubricitati obsistere et gressum firmare possunt. Nonnullis in locis baculis utuntur mucrone ferreo præpilatis, quibus nixi per arduos clivos ascendere et descendere solent; hos alpinos baculos vocant, et pastoribus præcipue in usu sunt. Aliquando etiam pastores et venatores per loca declivia et pene præcipitia, quæ nulla alioqui via est, cæsis ramis arborum, præcipue abietum, insidentes, et quasi inequitantes se demittunt. Ubi autem currus onusti per loca hujusmodi ardua demittendi sunt, nonnunquam ingentibus funibus ergatarum et trochlearum artificio eos dimittunt' (p. 283).

23 'Porro qui profundas nives perambulare volunt, illis locis ubi nullæ viæ sunt, hæc ratione sibi a submersione cavent: asseres ligneos parvos et tenues, vel circulos ligneos cujusmodi in doliis vinariis vincendis adhibentur, pedalis diametri funibus cancellatim undique contextos, pedibus alligant. Atque hæc ratione cum majus vestigium faciant, non submerguntur, atque non alte in nives incidunt' (p. 287).

24 'Præterea inter alia mala frigus ingens his qui per Alpes iter faciunt molestum est præsertim stante Borea, quare sæpe multorum artus vi frigoris amburantur, atque aliis aures aut nares, nonnullis manuum aut pedum digiti, atque etiam ipsi pedes vi frigoris obstupescunt et pereunt: multi oculos ex per-

petuo nivium usu amittunt. Adversus hæc mala varia præsidia sunt : oculis quidem ut vel aliquid nigri prætendatur, vel vitrea conspiciantur quæ vocant : reliquis membris, ut pellibus crassisque vestimentis bene contra frigus muniantur : ac charta scriptoria et membrana pectus optime a ventis frigidis defendunt ; quod si pedes obstupuerint, noctu exutis caleeis gelidæ aquæ immerguntur et paulatim tepida affunditur, ita enim restitui creduntur. Maxime tamen omnium motus assiduus prodest : accidit enim nonnunquam ut in ascendendo monte, homines ob laborem incalescant, et nullum frigus se sentire existiment, quod si quiescendi gratia in nivibus sederint, mox illis somnus obrepit atque tum absque ullo fere sensu doloris dormientes obstupescunt et moriuntur ' (pp. 292-93).

25 ' Præterea illa vetus glacies per quam nonnunquam iter faciendum est, profundos hiatus trium aut quatuor pedum latitudine et sæpe etiam ampliores habet, in quos si quis decidat, indubitato illi pereundum est. Accidit autem ut nivibus recentibus, aut vento conglomeratis illi hiatus tegantur, itaque qui tum per Alpes iter faciunt, peritos locorum qui ipsis præeant conducere solent : hosce fune cingunt, cui etiam aliquot ex his qui sequuntur se astringunt, qui vero præit longâ perticâ viam explorat et diligenter in nivibus hiatus hos scrutatur, quod si fortè imprudens in aliquem deciderit, a sociis qui eodem fune cincti sunt, sustinetur et extrahitur. Ubi nullæ nives foveas tegunt, minus est periculi, saltu tamen illos superare oportet, nulli enim hic sunt pontes ; nisi quod nonnunquam hi qui sarcinaria jumenta per hæc loca agunt (id autem rarius fit) asseres ligneos secum ferunt, quibus jumentis ponticulum sternunt qua transeant ' (pp. 285-86).

26 Want of space alone prevents me from quoting Simler's very full account of the nature, causes, and means of preventing avalanches (pp. 288-92). I must content myself with a reference to Mr. Tuckett's summary of the passage in his very interesting notes on Avalanches ('Alpine Journal,' vol. v. p. 346).

27 Herr H. Eckhardt has given a very full account of Merian's life and work, in his excellent book entitled 'Matthæus Merian ; eine kulturhistorische Studie' (Basel, Georg. 1887,

8vo. pp. vii. 222). For Zeiller see M. Paul Zeiller's interesting article in the '*Annuaire du Club Alpin Français*,' 1887 (vol. xiv. pp. 478-86), and Herr Eckardt's work (p. 182). The Merian family still flourishes in Basel, while M. Paul Zeiller is at least a namesake, possibly a member of the family, of Martin Zeiller.

28 It does not enter into the scheme of this work to trace out this interesting history of Alpine illustrations, on which Mr. Freshfield's remarks ('*Alpine Journal*,' vol. ix. pp. 15-18) should be consulted. It would be very instructive to take some one subject and follow the representation given of it in various works. Take as an instance the case of the Grindelwald glaciers (particularly the lower one), the best known and most accessible of all glaciers in former days. The earliest published view after Merian's seems to be a very rude, yet quite unmistakable, representation of the Lower glacier, with the Mettenberg, Viescherhörner, and Eiger, in the '*Philosophical Transactions*' of the Royal Society, No. 100, February 9, 1673-74 (see '*Alpine Journal*,' vol. xiv. p. 320). Scheuchzer (p. 288 of the 1723 edition) reproduces Merian's view and adds two others (pp. 470 and 482), luckily quite peculiar to himself. Altmann (1751), Gruner (1760), Bourrit (1781 and 1785), Meiners (1788), and J. R. Wyss (1816-17), each have separate and distinct views—Gruner, indeed, giving no fewer than three. The 1714 and 1730 editions of the '*Délices de la Suisse*' reproduce Merian's view with some alterations in the details of the foreground, but the 1764 and 1776 editions of that work reproduce one of Gruner's, while the 1778 edition goes back to Merian's plate as altered in 1714 and 1730. There are also six plates of the Grindelwald glaciers in De Laborde and De Zurlauben's '*Tableaux Pittoresques*' (1777-80), all of which seem to have been made expressly for this work and not copied from any of the earlier views. Apart from their historical importance as showing the increasing amount of interest taken in the phenomena of the ice-world, these engravings, however rough and rude, ought to be of some value in controlling and correcting the very vague reports as to the advance or retreat of the glaciers. Of no other glacier than

the Lower Grindelwald one probably is there such a complete series of views.

29 Oddly enough, Herr B. Studer mentions (p. 182) the 1688 edition only, and Herr Peyer (p. 155) the 1701 edition only. The fullest and best account of the three editions is to be found in Von Haller (vol. i. pp. 137-38, No. 705), from which I take the following details. The title of the *editio princeps* is '*Index Memorabilium Helvetiæ oder Zeiger der denkwürdigsten Curiositäten welche in der Eydgnosschaft dieser jetzigen Zeit fürnehmlich zu beobachten sind*;' it is in 12mo., and has 123 pages. The 1688 edition is also in 12mo., and contains 216 pages and many engravings, together with a small map of Switzerland, after Geiger's larger one, the title of the work being '*Mercurius Helveticus: fürstellend die Denk- und Schauwürdigsten Anmerkungen und Seltsamkeiten der Eydgnosschaft, durch Joh. Jacob Wagner*.' The 1701 edition is enlarged and improved, and has the same title, with the substitution of '*vornemsten Sachen*' for '*Anmerkungen*,' the name of the author preceding the word '*Mercurius*' thus, '*J. Jacob Wagners, M.D.*' It contains 268 pages (including a false title-page dated 1688), besides many engravings, and the same small map of Switzerland as in 1688.

30 I have carefully compared the engravings of the 1642 Merian and the 1701 Wagner. Of the 75 views in Merian, 28 do not appear in Wagner; while of the 60 in Wagner, 13 do not appear in Merian. There are thus 47 (two-thirds of the views of Merian) which are possibly common to the two books, but in some cases the resemblance is uncertain, 27 in my opinion having certainly been copied and reduced by Wagner from Merian. Merian's book is thus the starting-point in the history of representations of Swiss towns and scenery generally.

Even the little map in the 1688 and 1701 editions of Wagner is a reduction (made, as it confesses, by Johann Meyer in 1688) of Hans Conrad Geiger's large map of 1637 which accompanies the Merian of 1642.

31 There was a whole set of guide-books to different countries and places published under the title of '*Délices*' in the first

half of the eighteenth century. Thus we find among the books published by Peter van der Aa at Leyden (see the list prefixed to the 1723 edition of Scheuchzer) guide-books bearing the title of '*Délices*,' devoted to Spain and Portugal, Great Britain and Ireland (this was in nine duodecimo volumes and written by J. Beeverel), Italy, Leyden, Ancient Rome, Modern Rome, and Switzerland (this last Ruchat's). The only one relating to Switzerland (besides Ruchat's), which I have come across, is the '*Deliciæ Urbis Bernæ*' (1732), by J. R. Gruner, father of Gottlieb S. Gruner, the well-known author of the important work entitled '*Die Eisgebirge des Schweizerlandes*' (1760).

32 In the first edition there were 1,070 pages (the paging being continuous) and 75 engravings. The second edition was published at Amsterdam in 1730, in four 12mo. volumes containing 1,912 pages and 75 engravings; Stanyan's treatise fills nearly the whole of the first volume (484 pages), being worked up with the original introduction (62 pages) to the first edition, with a few additions from other sources. The third appeared at Basel in 1764, in four large 12mo. (or small 8vo.) volumes, comprising 1,716 pages; it was thoroughly revised, particularly in matters relating to the Alps, and the engravings are for the most part new. The fourth edition (Basel, 1776; 1,648 pages in 4 vols. large 12mo.) was practically a reprint of the third. The fifth edition is the Neuchâtel one of 1778, mentioned in the text, 2 vols. 4to., comprising 816 pages and 81 plates; it is by far the best edition of the '*Délices*,' having been entirely remodelled, but its awkward size was much against its practical usefulness. A German translation of the '*Délices*,' freely made and with many additions, was issued at Leipzig (1777-80) under the title '*Ueber das Interessanteste in der Schweiz*' (4 vols. 8vo., comprising 2,281 pages). The translator was a Berlin Pfarrer, J. H. F. Ulrich by name. He added a section of his own on the religion of the Swiss, besides many other chapters partly by him, partly by others. In vol. iv. Von Haller's corrections of the original work are printed (see Von Haller, vol. i. pp. 170-71, No. 750). The engravings in the first two editions are reduced from those in the works of Merian and Scheuchzer. An almost



entirely new set was substituted for them in the editions of 1764 and 1776, in which Gruner's view of the Lower Grindelwald glacier replaces that from Merian and Scheuchzer, though in the 1778 edition the older view again takes the place of Gruner's. The tone of the earlier editions is strongly antipapal, and that of 1764 was formally condemned by the Pope in 1765. I take the above details from Von Haller (vol. i. pp. 146-49, No. 718), and from the various editions themselves, of all of which I possess copies. The notices in Herr Studer (pp. 221-22, 326) are taken from Von Haller.

33 Stanyan's book is entitled 'An Account of Switzerland. Written in the Year 1714.' The first edition, published anonymously in 1714 in London by Jacob Tonson, is in 8vo., and contains 247 pages besides the preface. (There is a copy in the Alpine Club Library, entered, owing to no name appearing on the title-page, under the head 'Switzerland' in the new edition of the Catalogue, p. 51.) A French translation (in 8vo.) was published the same year at Amsterdam, and extends over 251 pages. Another French edition was issued the same year (also in 8vo., and in 232 pages) by Jean Garrel, nominally at Amsterdam, but really, according to Von Haller, at Bern. On this interesting book see Von Haller (vol. i. pp. 144-45). The Bodleian possesses copies of the London and the (false) Amsterdam editions (I bought a copy of the latter recently for the sum of two francs); they are entered in the Catalogue under the head of 'Helvetia,' but the name 'Temple Stanyan' is also inserted, and the work is mentioned under the same Christian and surnames in Watt's 'Bibliotheca Britannica' (1824), vol. ii. p. 875. Coxe, in the 1780 issue of his 'Sketches of the Natural, Civil, and Political State of Switzerland,' p. 475, acknowledges his obligations to several books, and among them is 'Stannyan's Account of Switzerland,' while in his later editions the book appears in the list of works consulted by him. No name appears on the title-page of any of the editions of the book. Von Haller, however, states distinctly that it was written by Abraham Stanian; but on the title-page of the copy of the London edition now in the Bodleian Library, the name 'Temple Stanyan' is inserted

in ink, and the spelling of the surname at least seems to be more accurate than Von Haller's.

The book contains ten chapters, and an appendix on the 'allies' of the Confederation, *i.e.* the towns and districts associated with it by alliances with all or with some of the Thirteen Cantons. All these chapters are reproduced more or less literally, in most cases with running and generally very hostile criticisms (particularly in the remarks on the government of Bern), in some part of the second and later editions of the '*Délices*.' Stanyan's name is mentioned in the preface to the 1764 and 1776 editions of the '*Délices*,' but not in that of the 1780 or 1778 editions. Von Haller says that the information contained in Stanyan's work is astonishingly accurate, but as the conduct of Bern was spoken of with disapproval, that town issued a solemn warning against the book. It must further be noted that the sections in the '*Délices*' of 1780 about dragons, giants, &c., do not appear in Stanyan's book, and that those relating to the Alps, to the lakes of the country, &c., are taken over (with alterations) from the first edition. A later edition of Stanyan's book appeared at Paris and Fribourg in 1766 (12mo., 384 pages), under the title of '*Tableau historique et politique de la Suisse*' (see Von Haller, *as above*).

I am much indebted to Mr. Leslie Stephen for a number of references from which it is possible to make out Stanyan's official career, though this is rendered difficult by the fact that Abraham Stanyan is frequently confounded with his younger brother Temple, who, in 1739, issued a '*Grecian History*' (2 vols.), and died in 1752. Abraham seems to have been a Lord of the Admiralty from 1697 to 1703, and to have held the office of Clerk of the Council from May 20, 1699, to 1719. On June 6, 1699, as secretary to the Earl of Manchester's embassy to France he went to Paris to relieve Prior, and in January 1701-2 was appointed one of the secretaries to the Earl of Manchester, then Secretary of State. On May 8, 1705, he was named envoy to the Swiss Cantons, and sailed for his new post on June 26. He came to England on business for four months in 1708-9, and next year went on a private commission to Piedmont. It is

possible that he had already been in Switzerland in 1700 and 1706, and he apparently kept his post as envoy to the Cantons till the end of 1714, for in January 1715 he was elected M.P. for the borough of Buckingham. This would exactly agree with his statement in his preface that it was through a 'Residence of above eight Years' that he had had such excellent opportunities of acquiring information about Swiss matters. He was again one of the Lords of the Admiralty from October 1714 to April 1717, that is just the interval between his Swiss and Turkish missions. He seems to have been special envoy to the Emperor in 1716, and November 30, 1717, vacated his seat for Buckingham on accepting an office of profit under the crown. This, no doubt, was the post of ambassador to the Porte, in which he succeeded Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's husband, and which he held for many years, giving up his clerkship of the Council in 1719 to his brother Temple. In 1731 he was named, on his return, one of the commissioners for keeping the Privy Seal, and he died at his seat in Bucks on September 11 (or 9), 1732. (Allowing for the difference of style, the former date agrees precisely with Von Haller's statement that the date of his death was September 22.) He seems to have been a man of wide experience and literary tastes, for we find his name among those of the original subscribers to Pope's translation of the *Iliad*. His Swiss book is perhaps the best ever written by an Englishman on Swiss political matters, ranking with those of Coxe (1779) and Grote (1847).

Dr. Johnson, in 1778, when praising the authentic information given by modern travellers as compared with that given by their predecessors, said: 'The Swiss admit that there is but one error in Stanyan' (Boswell's 'Johnson,' original edition of 1791, vol. ii. p. 267). No Christian name is mentioned in the text or in the notes. In Croker's edition the notes attribute the Swiss book to Temple Stanyan, while the index gives it to Abraham Stanyan. In Dr. Birkbeck Hill's recent edition of Boswell, no Christian name is given in the notes, but in the index the name 'Temple' is once more wrongly appended to the reference.

34 The writings of these pioneers of mountaineering deserve careful study. They are not considered in this paper, because they are descriptive narratives supplying material for guide-books, rather than guide-books proper. Hence I am reluctantly compelled to pass them over with this brief mention, but I do this with less regret because several of them have already formed the subject of interesting papers by Mr. D. W. Freshfield in the 'Alpine Journal.' For Bourrit (1739-1815) see 'Alpine Journal,' vol. ix. pp. 11-18, 23-24; for the Delucs, Jean André (1727-1817) and Guillaume Antoine (1729-1812), see 'Alpine Journal,' vol. ix. pp. 7-11; for Placidus à Spescha (1740-99), 'Alpine Journal,' vol. x. pp. 289-312; while I hope that some day Mr. Freshfield will give us a biography of De Saussure (1752-1835), the best known of the company. André César Bordier of Geneva was born in 1747, and in 1773 published at Geneva, under the initials 'Mr. B.,' his 'Voyage pittoresque [*sic*] aux Glacieres de Savoye' (12mo., 303 pages), a work of which the authorship is sometimes wrongly attributed to Bourrit (see 'Alpine Journal,' vol. ix. pp. 327-33, Professor Tyndall's 'Forms of Water,' pp. 157, 162, and note 87 below).

Bourrit, the Delucs, and De Saussure of course specially describe the Mont Blanc chain; while Father Placidus climbed the peaks around the head of the Upper Rhine valley near his home (Tödi and Graubünden districts). J. G. Altmann (1697-1758) in his 'Versuch einer historischen und physischen Beschreibung der Helvetischen Eisgebirgen' (1751) is concerned with the ice-fields of the Bernese Oberland, while G. S. Gruner (1717-78) in his 'Die Eisgebirge des Schweizerlandes' (3 vols., 1760, improved edition in 1778) devotes his first volume to the same district and the Valais (this last section being poor and defective), his second to the glaciers of the rest of Switzerland, and his third to an exposition of his theory as to the origin and nature of glaciers generally.

I have not seen J. H. Hottinger's (1680-1756) 'Montium Glacialium Helveticorum Descriptio'—written April 5, 1703, as part of a letter to Mr. Woodward (R. Wolf, 'Biographien zur Kulturgeschichte der Schweiz,' vol. i. p. 192, n. 23)—which was

published in the 'Ephemerides' of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna (Decursus iii. ann. 8, 10, in Appendice 1706, pp. 41-75), and has not been separately reprinted. Scheuchzer (p. 284 of the 1723 edition), Gruner (vol. i. p. xiv.), and Von Haller (vol. i. pp. 442-43) speak highly of this essay, though Herr B. Studer (p. 206) thinks that Hottinger had never seen any glaciers besides those at Grindelwald.

35 It is worth noting that from the time the name first appears (1090), it is always Latinised as 'Campus Munitus,' which may refer to the fortification of the monastery, but more probably to the natural ramparts defending the trench of meadowland which forms the valley.

36 See M. Théophile Dufour's excellent *editio princeps* (in the 'Echo des Alpes' for 1879, and reprinted separately) of Martel's MS. French account of Mr. Windham's journey in 1741, and his own in 1742.

37 See 'Alpine Journal,' vol. x. p. 167; vol. xi. pp. 484-85; vol. xiii. pp. 279-80.

38 For Exchaquet see Studer, pp. 439, 488; and 'Alpine Journal,' vol. ix. pp. 19, 87. His relief was the basis of the map he drew for the 1790 book.

39 Ebel (vol. i. p. 126, 1804 edition; vol. i. p. 131, 1809 edition) mentions a 'vue perspective' of the St. Gotthard, engraved by Mechel (one of the chief copper engravers of the day), and published at Basel in 1792, as based on M. Exchaquet's relief, which must therefore have been completed between 1790 and 1792.

40 Probably the first account of De Saussure's ascent of Mont Blanc on August 3, 1787, which was published in English was 'A Short Account of an Expedition to the Summit of Mont Blanc by M. de Saussure of Geneva in August last,' printed for George Kearsley, 46 Fleet Street, London, in 1788, as a shilling Appendix of 30 pages (12mo.) to a 'Sketch of a Tour through Swisserland: a new edition.' The preface of the latter book is signed 'T. M.' (Thomas Martyn, see note 44 below), the paging of the Sketch and of the Appendix being continuous. It also briefly mentions Bourrit's passage of the Col du Géant on

August 27, 1787, which it wrongly holds to be the first traverse of the pass (see 'Alpine Journal,' vol. ix. pp. 23-24, 87-89). Neither of these appeared in the French version of the book, published under the title of 'Guide du Voyageur en Suisse,' at any rate in the third edition, 1794.

41 'Alpine Journal,' vol. xiii. p. 181. This accident is mentioned briefly in the notes on pp. 114-15 of the 1808 edition of Bourrit's 'Itinéraire.' It would be interesting to know which edition of De Saussure's 'Voyages' this was. The first edition of vol. iii. in the quarto form was issued at Neuchâtel in 1796, but as it describes journeys in Italy, France, Tessin, Vaud, and Bern, it does not seem clear why M. Eschen should have had it with him on the Buet. I am inclined to think that it was rather vol. iii. of an octavo edition (in 4 vols.) of a portion of the 'Voyages,' which I possess, but of which I can find no bibliographical account in all the lives and mentions of De Saussure in Studer, Wolf, Secretan, &c. It is in four volumes (vols. i. and ii. published at Geneva in 1787, vols. iii. and iv. at Geneva and Paris in 1786). It seems to be a simple reprint, in a handy form, of the contents of vol. i. (originally published in 1779 at Neuchâtel) and ii. (issued at Geneva in 1786) of the 4 vol. quarto edition (1779-96), that is of the Natural History of the environs of Geneva, and of the first and second journeys of the author, *not* describing, therefore, his ascent of Mont Blanc and his sojourn on the Col du Géant. My edition seems to be quite distinct from the 8 vol. octavo edition (Neuchâtel, 1780-96), and it has all the maps and plates of the first 2 vols. of the quarto edition. These retain their original numbering, and those contained in vol. i. (quarto) are still so marked in the octavo edition, though in both cases the contents of a quarto volume are spread over two octavo volumes. There is possibly some slight difference as to the vignettes and headpieces of certain chapters. In one catalogue I have seen the date of the 8 vol. octavo edition given as 1787 to 1796, and it might seem as if my 4 vols. formed the first half of it; but as, according to that catalogue, it was issued at Geneva and Neuchâtel, whereas my books bear on the title-pages the name of Geneva only, or of Geneva and Paris,

the two octavo editions do not seem to be identical. The description of the ascent of the Buet comes in vol. ii. of the octavo edition (part of vol. i. of the quarto edition), but in vol. iii. (part of vol. ii. of the quarto edition) there are full accounts of the Brévent and of the geology of the Valorsine. It is, at any rate, easier to imagine a man carrying an octavo than a quarto volume up a snow mountain.

42 When speaking of Brunnen, Heidegger (it does not appear why) makes a furious attack on the indolent, empty-headed, and foolish travellers who, by scattering guineas and *louis d'or* broadcast, had quite demoralised the natives of the district, so that it was very advisable to make bargains with drivers, boatmen, guides, and porters. English travellers are specially blamed for this foolish profusion, which would be a source of great trouble to later English travellers, who, by reason of their unwillingness to follow this bad example, would be nicknamed 'miser-travellers' (*Karg-Reisende*).

43 Coxe, who, after being well entertained by the abbot, had left Engelberg on August 25, 1785, translates the doctor's original account (Letter 26 of 1789 and following editions), and wisely concludes that the height of the Titlis must be greatly inferior to that of Mont Blanc by a comparison of the times (8 and 15 hours) employed by Dr. Feierabend and Dr. Paccard to go from the valley to the summits of their respective peaks.

44 'T. M.' was the Rev. Thomas Martyn, B.D., F.R.S. (born 1735, died 1825). He was a graduate of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and, in succession to his father, who had been professor 1733-61, held the chair of Botany in the University of Cambridge from 1761 to 1825. Besides many botanical works he published several which are of interest to us. He was possibly the author of an octavo volume of 651 pages, entitled 'Sketch of a Tour through Switzerland,' published in 1787. He was certainly the author of a 12mo. volume issued the same year, and bearing the same title, of which the price was 2s. It is of the second edition of this work (1788) that I possess a copy (the price being raised to 2s. 6d. because of the Appendix on De Saussure's ascent of Mont Blanc, which was to be obtained sepa-

rately for a shilling; see above, note 40), bound up with 'An Appendix to the Gentleman's Guide through Italy, containing Catalogues of the Paintings, Statues, Busts, &c.' (1787). This Italian guide itself was by Prof. Martyn, but the first edition (12mo., 1787) was issued without any name, this being inserted in the second edition (in 8vo.), which appeared in 1791 under the title of 'A Tour through Italy.' Prof. Martyn also published (1787) 'The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through France' (8vo.), as to which Nichols states that Prof. Martyn made many additions to the 9th edition of this book. Thus in 1787 he put forth guide-books to three different countries. We find that he is thanked, by name, by Archdeacon Coxe in the preface to his 'Travels in Switzerland' (editions of 1789, 1794, and 1801).

I have collected the above details from Messrs. Halkett & Laing's 'Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain' (Nos. 1,006 and 2,398), Dr. Robert Watt's 'Bibliotheca Britannica' (vol. ii. p. 651, and vol. iv. s.v. 'Switzerland'), L. B. Phillips's 'Dictionary of Biographical Reference' (1871), the very full notice in Nichols's 'Literary Anecdotes' (1812), vol. iii. pp. 156-58, and the current 'Cambridge Calendar.'

45 See Studer, p. 516, *n*.

46 'Alpine Journal,' vol. viii. Appendix, p. 47 *n*.

47 The third edition appeared in 1809-10 in four volumes. The fourth (1818), entirely recast by R. Glutz-Blotzheim, and the fifth (1822-23), revised by J. C. Schoch, each formed a single volume. The sixth edition too (1830, though some copies seem to have the imprint 1832), revised by J. C. Schoch, appeared in one volume, as also the seventh (1841), thoroughly recast (so far as matter, *not* arrangement, is concerned) by G. Von Escher. These details are taken from the preface to the eighth edition (revised also by Von Escher), wherein the obligations of the editor to Murray are acknowledged. From the same preface (and more in detail in that of the 1823 edition) we learn that in the fourth (1818) edition Heidegger's 'Handbuch' (mentioned above) was incorporated with Ebel, or more accurately, that in that edition Heidegger's book was taken as the basis, Ebel's



book being also used to a certain extent. The main reason alleged is that Ebel in its original form was becoming too cumbersome for practical use ; and this course was also followed in the case of the 1822-23 edition. Ebel was, of course, translated into French, though I have not been able to ascertain the date of the first French edition, which was, however, probably about 1804. The second French edition (4 vols., 1810-11) corresponds to the third German, as does also the slightly revised third French one (3 vols., 1818). I possess the first three German editions as well as the fifth and eighth, besides the second and third French editions. Among the publishers named on the title-pages of vols. ii. and iii. (but *not* on that of vol. i.) of the French edition of 1818 we find the mention of a London firm, Treuttel & Wurz, 11 Soho Square.

48 Wytttenbach in his '*Instruction pour les Voyageurs*' &c. (1787), p. 21, suggests a precaution to be taken by visitors to glaciers which is quite new to me : '*On peut aussi faire usage de deux longues perches que le voyageur mettra horizontalement sous les bras ; muni de tels préservatifs, il franchit les abîmes, et il reste suspendu lors même que la neige s'affaisse sous lui.*'

49 This odd-looking division of the name makes us realise that the Matterhorn takes its name directly from the village at its foot, which most likely is so called from the broad meadows which surround it, '*Matt*' or '*pré*' (as in the old name Pratum Bornum, Pra Borno, Praborgne) being the chief of the two words which we now generally write as one, and the name Matterhorn thus meaning the peak above the meadows. In the mediæval documents the Zermatt valley is known as the Vallis de Zauxon, Chauson, or Chouson. Stumpf (1546, p. 660 of the 1606 edition), speaking of the valley, mentions the '*Gegnen*' (Gegenden) '*genent Finilen, Aroleit und in Müt.*' This last name probably (Simler, p. 56) refers to Zmutt ; but a few lines farther down and on the map to the eleventh book (on the Valais) of Stumpf's work we find '*Mattal*' and '*Matt*' in the right places. Indeed the text gives quite a detailed itinerary of the Zermatt valley, no doubt based on particulars obtained by the author himself, during his journey through

the Valais in the summer of 1544. (Aroleit was one of the four quarters into which Zermatt was divided for purely local purposes from 1476 to 1791—the others being Hoff (the main hamlet), Winkelermatt, and Muttero (Zmutt)—and is still the name of a hamlet close to the foot of the Gorner Glacier.) 'Matt' is also marked on Konrad Türist's map of 1495-97, the earliest known map of Switzerland, and the learned editor, Professor G. v. Wyss, identifies it with Zermatt. As the name 'Zermatt' or 'Matt' does not appear in any of the Valais documents down to 1375 published by the Abbé Gremaud, the village being always, from the time it is first mentioned in a deed of sale executed at Zermatt in 1280, and in the will (1285) of Norman of Aosta, precentor of Sion, called Pra Borno or Prato Borno, it must have come into existence at some time between 1368 (latest mention of Pra Borno) and 1495-97. It is no doubt connected with the Teutonising of the valley, probably in the early fifteenth century, and possibly in consequence of the efforts then made by the Valais and Uri men to get possession of some of the fertile valleys to the south of the Alps. 'Praborgne,' the old pre-Teutonic name, lingered on till quite recently, and was the name by which the village was best known to English travellers forty or fifty years ago. 'Matt,' however, maintains its ground in all the editions of the 'Délices' (1714 to 1778), and was Latinised by Simler as 'Mattia vallis,' and 'pagus Matta.'

The 1843 'Ebel' has a 'revised article' on Zermatt which, as it does not occur in the 1818 French or in the fifth (1823) editions, must have been inserted in the sixth (1830) or seventh (1841) editions, possibly owing to interest excited in the district by Von Welden's (1824) or Engelhardt's (1840) descriptions.

50 It is worth noting that the name 'Matter' or Matterhorn was applied to the pass into Italy before it came to mean the peak exclusively. Sebastian Münster (1543, p. 333 of the Basel edition of 1550) gives the name of 'Mons Matter' to the pass, marking it as 'Augstalberg—Mons Sylvius,' on his map of the Valais, the former of these two last names referring of course to Aosta. Stumpf (1546, p. 660 of the 1606 edition) adopts in his text the

two names given on Münster's map, marking 'Mons Sylvius' only on his own map. Tschudi (died 1572) in his '*Gallia Comata*' (p. 361) gives quite a detailed account of the pass, which he calls 'Sylvius Mons,' though he adds that the Germans call it 'der Gletscher.' Simler (1574, p. 56 of the 1633 edition) mentions the name of Mons Sylvius only. Schencher (p. 216 of his 1716 book, pp. 290, 303 of his 1723 book) collects together all the names given by his predecessors—'Sylvius Mons,' 'Austelberg,' and 'Gletscher,' adding, by a confusion pardonable at that date, the new one of 'Rosa.' Gruner (1760, vol. i. pp. 226-30) calls it 'Sylvius' or 'Austelerberg,' and for the first time introduces the name of 'Mattenberg.' In a letter written by him from Naters on July 29, 1776 (see his 1778 book, vol. i. pp. 211-12), he speaks of 'Silvius, which is otherwise called Mattenhorn or Augstlerberg.' It is generally agreed that 'Cervin' is but another form of Silvius, and while it is certain that the pass was originally called 'Mont Cervin' or 'Mattenhorn,' it is easy to see how this name, as in many similar cases, gradually came to be restricted to the highest point of the mountain mass over which the frequented pass lay, and a Matterjoch comes to be distinguished from a Matterhorn. Thus in the 1804 'Ebel' the peak is given the three names—Sylvio, Mont Cervin, and Matterhorn. The name St. Théodule is applied to the pass and to the redoubt on the crest of the col by De Saussure, who says (vol. iv. p. 381) that it was thrown up 200 or 300 years before by the men of the valley of Aosta, and was called the 'redoute de St. Théodule.' It is now known, however, that this redoubt was thrown up by the Aostans in 1688 by orders of the Duke of Savoy, in order to prevent the Vaudois or Waldensians (who had taken refuge in Switzerland on their expulsion in 1687 from their home in the Piedmontese valleys) from recrossing the Alps. (See the evidence in Signor L. Vaccarone's '*Le Vie delle Alpi Occidentali*,' Turin, 1884, pp. 73, 117-21.) The pass was then called the St. Théodule, the name being possibly taken from a rude wooden statue of that saint—the first Bishop of Sion and patron of the Valais—which in 1691 existed on the pass, having been placed there by the men of the Valais

'sous un motif de vénération et de protection envers le dit saint' (*ibid.* p. 116). The existence of this statue is probably the foundation of the tale related by Studer ('Ueber Eis und Schnee,' vol. ii. p. 124) that according to a document of 1743 a chapel dedicated to the saint was to be found on the pass. Thus the name St. Théodule was probably given to the pass by the Aostans, who would naturally speak of the inhabitants of upper or episcopal Valais as the 'men of St. Théodule,' as vassals of the Bishop of Sion, the successor of St. Théodule, who was the patron of the Valais and of the pass. Hence Silvius, Cervin, St. Théodule would be the names given to the pass by the Aostans, while the Valaisans would rather speak of it as the 'Aosta or Matt mountain' or *the Gletscher*.

De Saussure ('Voyages dans les Alpes,' vol. iv. pp. 379-83, 389, 408-37) was apparently the first stranger to cross (on August 14, 1789) from Breil to Zermatt. He once again visited the pass from the Breil side, spending three nights (August 11-14, 1792) in a tent on the rocky crest near the redoubt, and on August 13 made the first ascent of the Klein Matterhorn ('Cime Brune du Breithorn'). The first English party to cross the pass accomplished the feat in the summer of 1800, and call it 'Mont Rose' (like Scheuchzer) as well as St. Théodule ('Alpine Journal,' vol. vii. pp. 435-36).

51 On June 29, 1872, the Appenzell section of the Swiss Alpine Club held a festival to inaugurate a simple memorial tablet set up in honour of Ebel on the Ebenalpstock above Weissbad in Appenzell. This recognition of his work for Switzerland has reference rather to his 1798 book than to that of 1793, in which we are specially interested in this paper.

52 The 'Manuel du Voyageur en Suisse' par M. J. G. Ebel (Langlois, Paris, about 1816 or 1817, 600 pages), the shortcomings of which are so severely commented on in the preface to the 1818 authorised Zürich (French) edition of Ebel, is a totally distinct production from Richard's book. We are there told that the work in question had left out all the historical and scientific matter of Ebel, besides the chapter on literature, the glossary, the appendix on Romansch, and all maps and views.

Besides, the actual text was disfigured by many blunders and omissions. Hence Ebel and his publishers formally disavow this production, announcing that the Zürich edition of 1810, in four volumes, is alone authorised and authentic, and that the present is a faithful reproduction of that edition, but in three volumes, in order to render it more portable. I possess copies of two editions (12mo.) of this unauthorised version, dated 1816 and 1824 respectively, but neither quite agrees with the description given by the 1818 French translation of Ebel. Both contain all the maps and views given by Ebel, and both have the glossary and the Romansch appendix (the latter in an abridged form) tacked on at the end. Both appropriate bodily the substance of Ebel's title-page, and call themselves translations from the third and fifth editions respectively of his book. That of 1816 contains 674 pages, and explains that it has been enriched by all the additions and corrections of the fourth original edition (though as the latter only appeared in 1818 this remark certainly requires to be explained), and has been compressed into a single volume, the original scheme of the author having been faithfully preserved as well as the geographical and topographical portions of his work and his itineraries, though the historical and geological details have been dispensed with. The 1824 edition contains 673 pages and purports to have been thoroughly revised. It contains several additions—a geographical and statistical account of the country taken from various recent French works of travel by Picot, Raoul-Rochette, and Simond, a section on Swiss Botany, and a reprint (with several careless misprints) of the titles of the books of travel enumerated by Ebel in his Bibliography, this last (it should be noticed) ending like Ebel's, with 'Eugenia's Briefe' issued in 1809! A compliment to Ebel brings this pirated edition to a close.

It is a sign that Swiss travel was developing when we find both Ebel and Richard complaining of pirate publishers.

53 This in turn is largely taken from Pfarrer Kuhn's excellent description of the Grindelwald valley, of which part appeared in vol. i. (pp. 1-26) of Albrecht Höpfner's 'Magazin für die Naturkunde Helvetiens' (1787), the rest (to have been

devoted to the peaks south of the valley) never appearing, probably because it had not been written or completed by the author, who had died at an advanced age in 1783 at Grindelwald.

54 Richard's 'France' was in some way absorbed into Joanne's series, and is now being re-issued in five 16mo. parts (3 or 4 francs a part) under the general title 'Guide du Voyageur en France, par Richard,' each part describing the course of one of the five main railway systems in France. Part I. (relating to the Paris, Lyons, and Mediterranean Railway) contains pages xiv, 155, besides an index of 32 more, containing, according to Joanne's usual fashion, all necessary information as to inns, railways, steamers, and carriages, &c., as well as 5 maps and 18 plans of towns. Richard's 'Swiss Guide-book' may very possibly have been similarly incorporated with Joanne, but I have not succeeded in working out the relation of one to the other.

55 See 'Alpine Journal,' vol. xiv. pp. 319-20.

56 See pp. 51, 115, of the Memoirs in vol. i. of Dr. William Smith's edition of the 'Decline and Fall.'

57 'Voyages,' vol. iv. p. 33.

58 The following extract from Mr. L. Agassiz's 'Journey to Switzerland' (1833, pp. 1-2) shows that M. Emery was still the 'Cook' of 1829, and illustrates the way in which travellers reached Switzerland before railways came in:—

'Having resolved to pay a visit to Switzerland, I considered of various conveyances; and at length contracted with Mr. Emery, the proprietor of several coaches travelling after the *veturino* fashion to that place and Italy. He agreed to take myself and family, consisting of my wife, daughter, governess, two infants, and two servants, to Lausanne, and find provisions, wine, and lodgings on the road, being sixteen days en route, for 95*l*. I subjoin the contract, for the information of any of my readers who may adopt a similar plan:—

"Je m'engage à fournir une bonne voiture, pour conduire de Londres à Lausanne, Monsieur —, avec deux dames, une jeune demoiselle, deux petits enfants, et deux domestiques; en

prenant à ma charge tous frais de route, savoir nourriture, déjeuners, diners, soupers, au désir de la famille, avec le meilleur vin ordinaire, logements, passage de mer, fraix des douanes, ponts, barrières, chevaux de renforts ; pour la somme de quatre-vingt-quinze livres sterling (95*l.*). Monsieur, avec sa famille, pourra rester deux jours à Paris pendant ce tems-là, sans payer autre chose que sa propre dépense ; mais les logements seront à ma charge. La famille aura quatre bons lits ; et une chambre en particulier, pendant tout le voyage, pour leurs repas, qui seront ordonnés par Monsieur —, s'il le désire. La voiture sera entièrement à la disposition de la famille de Monsieur. Le voyage se fera en seize jours de marche. Le paiement se fera, trente liv. avant le départ ; trente liv. à Paris ; et le reste à Lausanne : Entendu, que si Monsieur — avoit des plaintes à faire sur mon entreprise, il seroit en droit de diminuer le prix, selon le cas. Les domestiques des hôtels, et le cocher, seront payés par Monsieur.—B. Emery."

'N.B.—The *bonnes mains* to the servants, for my family, was five francs a day at Calais and Paris, and four while travelling. The coachman has 5*l.* for the journey, *if he behaves well*; but, you have the power of punishing him by giving less, should he at all misconduct himself.'

Under this arrangement Mr. Agassiz's party left London by coach on April 6, 1829, slept at Dover, crossed to Calais in two and a half hours next day, and on the 8th started in the voiture (or rather its substitute). They reached Paris on April 11, and put up at the Hôtel Britannique, in the Rue Louis le Grand, the Hôtel Dumini in the same street, whither M. Emery had directed them, being full. They set out again on April 15, and reached Lausanne on April 24, having halted for the night at Melun (when they at last met their own carriage), Villeneuve la Guiard, Joigny, Lucy le Bois, Vitteaux, Dijon, Dôle, Salins, and Pontarlier. In all probability the journey may be taken as an instance of the usual manner in which a middle-class family commonly travelled from England to Switzerland.

59 By 'the Eighers' Byron means the Eiger and the

Mönch, which were very commonly, though there are exceptions to this rule, grouped together under one name until quite recently. Scheuchzer (1723) and Altmann (1751) use Eiger as meaning the peak which now exclusively bears that name. With Gruner (1760) there comes a change. His evidence is best seen on the map opposite p. 91 of vol. i., and in the remarks on pp. xxxiii and 93. On the former he marks three points thus from E. to W.:—

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) Eigers Breithorn oder die Hörnlin (= the present Eiger-Hörnli) |   |
| (2) Eigers (or Heigers) Schneeberg<br>(= ? Eiger)                  | The map is rather<br>vague here, and it is<br>doubtful to what point<br>precisely these names<br>apply. |
| (3) Eigers Geissberg (= ? Mönch)                                   |   |

In the text No. (2) is described as coming after a long rather depressed ice wall, and as a high, broad, snow-covered and rounded peak, 'on the south side of which are the Kahlberg [Kalliberg] pastures.' This would seem to point to the Eiger proper, and it is so taken by Herr G. Studer ('Panorama von Bern,' pp. 206, 211); No. (3) would then be the Mönch. Pfarrer Kuhn (1787) in his map marks the Hörnlein, followed by the Mittellegi, the Geisberg, and 'das schwarze Berglein,' giving the name Eiger to the whole ridge; the last of the three names is near the position of the true Eiger, close to the point where the Kl. Scheidegg ridge joins the main ridge, and Geisberg is clearly here used in a peculiar sense (unluckily the text describing the south side of the Grindelwald valley was never completed).

Gruner and Wyss (1817) say that the whole chain was formerly called Innere Eiger or Hintereiger or simply Eiger, Wyss adding the statement peculiar to himself, that the Jungfrau was called Eigers Breithorn, a name generally reserved to the Hörnli, though Ebel gives it as an alternative for the 'Aussere Eiger.' Studer (*ibid.* p. 198) thinks that the name Innere Eiger, &c., applied to the Jungfrau itself, but it would,



strictly taken, seem to be given only to the whole ridge up to, but exclusive of, the Jungfrau itself.

Later we find the two peaks distinguished as the Aussere, Vordere, or Gross Eiger (=Eiger) and the Innere, Hintere, Kleiner Eiger, or Gross Mönch (=Monch). This common name with a distinctive prefix is used (though often indifferently with 'Eiger' and 'Monch') by books of travel in general from Coxe (1789) onwards, as well as by the guide-book of Ebel, followed by Richard and 'The Travellers' Guide,' and by Murray in the text though not in the panorama from Bern. The latest occurrence that I have noticed is in the 1867 edition of Murray (I have not seen the 1868 one, and in 1872 it has disappeared), where (pp. 87-88) we read of the two 'Eighers,' of the 'Mönch or Klein Eigher,' and of 'the Great Eigher.'

Herr G. Studer states (*ubi supra*, pp. 198-206) that the names Eiger and Jungfrau occur as early as 1577 in Thomas Schöpf's 'Chorographia Ditionis Bernensis,' though apparently Jungfrauenhorn originally meant the Silberhorn; while that of Eiger is found in Rebman's poem of 1606 (p. 487 of the 1620 edition), where the Jungfrau is also mentioned.

60 Leigh seems to have been the great publisher of Continental guide-books (mainly translations into English) in those days. Thus in the advertisements appended to his edition (1819) of Reichard's 'Itinerary of Germany and Hungary,' we find Planta's 'New Picture of Paris' (11s.) and 'Gazetteer of France' (5s.), Vasi's 'New Picture of Rome' (12s.), 'Post Roads in France' (8s.), Boyce's 'Belgian Traveller' (8s.), Wall's 'Ebel's Traveller's Guide' (16s.), Richard's 'Itinerary of France and Belgium' (8s.), and of 'Italy' (10s. 6d.), Schreiber's 'Traveller's Guide down the Rhine' (8s.), and Rombert's 'New Picture of Brussels' (8s.). In the list there are mentions of maps, of conversation books in various languages (including a new edition of Madame de Genlis' 'Manuel du Voyageur' or 'Traveller's Pocket Companion,' 6s. 6d. to 9s. 6d.), catalogue of pictures in the Louvre (4s.), the 'Art of Correspondence in French and English' (5s.), and 'The Tourist's Journal: con-

taining Ruled Columns for the Expenses of each Day, and suitable space for Observations' (2s. 6d.).

61 Mr. Wall speaks several times of 'the Grindelwald' (pp. 99, 108, 323), though of the 'Valley of Grindelwald,' and the former phrase appears at least once (p. 337) in the 1835 edition of the book. This suggests an interesting question as to the origin of this name. It is allowed on all hands that the first syllable comes from 'Grindel' (generally interpreted as meaning that which blocks or shuts off the valley from the rest of the world; see a very interesting paper on this subject by Dr. Schoch, of Zürich—one of the editors of the great 'German-Swiss Dialect Dictionary' now in progress—published in numbers 12-13, 1888 (pp. 48-50), of the periodical issued by Pfarrer Strasser of Grindelwald, under the title of 'Der Gletschermann'). The second is possibly derived from 'vallis' (valley), the popular view being that it is simply the German word 'Wald' (a wood). In the oldest documents (1146, 1180, 1220, 1246, 1252) we hear of land 'in Grindelwalt.' In 1275 we have a change, 'in valle Grindelwalt.' Later the name is commonly Latinised as 'in Grindeliâ Valle,' e.g. by Scheuchzer (1723). The 'Délices de la Suisse' (1714 and 1730) speak of 'le mont Grindelwald,' while the later editions (1764, 1776, 1778) of the same work mention 'la vallée de Grindelwald.' Stumpf, in his third edition (1606), uses the forms 'Grindelwald' and 'das Lendle Grindelwal.' But there is throughout a curious current of opinion—strong though not universal—in favour of 'le Grindelwald' or 'das Grindelwald.' On this side we find Merian and Zeiller (1642), Scheuchzer (1716), Altmann (1751), Gruner (1760 and 1778), Bourrit (1781 and 1785), De Mayer (1784), Besson (1786), Kuhn (1787), Wytttenbach (1787), Meiners (1788), Robert (1790), Heidegger (1790 and 1796), Heinzmann (1796), Ebel (1804, 1809, 1818), Wyss (1817, in the French edition only), Richard (1824, 1830, 1843), Schweizer in his 'Faulhorn' book (1832). On the other side we find that the article is omitted by Archdeacon Coxe (four editions between 1779 and 1801), Professor Martyn's book of 1788 and also in the French version, the 'Guide du Voyageur en Suisse' (1794), H. M.'s book (1810), König (1814), Lord Byron (1816-17), Hugi (1830), Macgregor

(1837), all editions of Murray (1838 onwards), Ebel (1843), and commonly after 1843.

I have made enquiries in the valley itself and find that it is very commonly spoken of at the present time as 'das Grindelwald.' If I might venture on a conjecture, I would suggest that this survival of the article may point to the derivation of the last syllable from 'vallis,' that is that 'the Grindelwald' originally meant the 'valley of Grindelwald,' and that the name 'Grindelwaldthal' came into use only when the real meaning of the 'wald' had been forgotten. We find that while in his French edition J. R. Wyss ('Voyage dans l'Oberland Bernois,' vol. i. p. 198) speaks of 'le Grindelwald,' the German text (vol. ii. p. 596) has, 'das Grindelwaldthal.' The fact that the feminine article is not used (as we might expect from the gender of 'vallis') might be explained by the attractive force of 'wald' (= forest), or by supposing that 'le Grindelwald' was taken to be a shortened form of 'das Grindelwaldthal.' Mr. A. J. Butler suggests to me that the name may (like 'Bregenzerwald') mean a hilly district at the foot of the higher mountains. I should prefer, however, to take the last syllable of 'Grindelwald' as representing 'vallis' in some way not now to be ascertained, comparing the cases of the 'Waldstätten' (commonly translated the 'Forest Cantons,' but meaning historically the valleys round the lake of Lucerne), Unterwald (commonly said to refer to the position of the valley with regard to the Kernwald, but probably meaning 'vallis inferior,' for though on the seal of the great alliance of 1291 the men of Nidwald are described as the men of Stanz, the other part of the district, Obwald, is called 'vallis superior'), and Valais or Wallis (which in old days was certainly known as the 'Vallis Poenina,' the derivation of the name from 'Wälsch'—or non-Teutonic—being ingenious but of quite recent date). But though my attempts at explanation are purely conjectural, certain it is that 'le Grindelwald' is found as a name for the valley at many different dates between 1642 and 1889. It is well known that the name 'Grindelwald' applies to the valley only, and does not designate (except in tourist language) any one hamlet in it.

62 Ebel mentions a passage by M. de Bottens, a Lausanne

*pasteur*, in 1742, from Kandersteg to Lauterbrunnen, but adds that now the glaciers have so increased that even chamois hunters rarely take this way. Bourrit (vol. i. chapter 20 of his 'Description des Alpes' and 'Description des Glacières') gives a long account of this expedition, which took place on August 17, 1742 (a horse being apparently taken all the way!), but expressly says that he did not himself attempt the passage.

63 It must be recollected that up to 1850-1851 nearly every canton had its own money and rate of exchange. The various coins mentioned above have been reduced to French francs, by taking a louis d'or (of 4 crowns) to be equivalent to 23·53 'francs de France,' 16 Swiss francs, or 10 florins. A Swiss franc was worth nearly one and a half French francs.

64 By the seventh edition (1856) Murray was able to say that 'at present there are not many traces of the original work of Ebel' in the Handbook, a phrase which is still in the tenth edition (1863) but not in the twelfth edition (1867), from which time the name of Ebel no longer occurs in the preface to Murray.

65 Those who are specially interested in the French and Italian Alps south of Mont Blanc will find many most interesting details regarding these districts in the earlier editions of Murray's 'Switzerland.'

66 To complete the bibliography of Murray, I add the years in which the editions between those mentioned and the sixteenth came out. The eighth appeared in 1858, the ninth in 1861 (much revised and many additions made to the Alpine sections, while plans of the chief towns were now given for the first time), the tenth in 1863, the eleventh in 1865, the twelfth in 1867, the thirteenth in 1868, the fourteenth in 1872 ('for the most part remodelled, and an addition of nearly one-third new matter' introduced), and the fifteenth in 1874. Probably many of these editions were mere reprints, without any material alterations in the text. I possess no fewer than fourteen of these seventeen editions. I should be very glad to complete my set by the purchase of the three missing volumes, one of which (1852) I have been able to consult, the two others (1865 and 1868) hav-

ing hitherto entirely eluded me. I am much indebted to Mr. Murray for courteously communicating to me much information as to his Swiss Handbook, the issue of which is one of the chief landmarks in the history of guidebooks to Switzerland. As a curiosity I may just mention an 1844 edition of Murray in plain black cover, which was published in English by I. Maison (the publisher of Richard's guide, as we have seen) in *Paris*; it is apparently a reprint of the 1842 edition, with 9 or 10 pages of addenda, including the new regulations of 1838 and 1842, as to the Chamonix guides, mules, &c.

67 Mr. Murray has kindly informed me that he had nothing to do with a book by a namesake of his (with the initials of many learned societies after his name), which was published in London by Longman in 1829 (12mo. pp. xi, 282), under the title of 'A Glance at some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland.' It describes a ten weeks' journey made in 1828.

68 See the obituary notice of the author, 'Alpine Journal,' xiii. 337.

69 *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 382.

70 It was in 1832 that Monsieur R. Topffer, of Geneva, undertook his first 'Voyage en Zigzag' with his schoolboys, and thus popularised an amusement previously limited to the scholars of village schools.

71 See on M. Joanne, 'Alpine Journal,' vol. x. pp. 231-33 (where the date of the *editio princeps* of his Swiss guide-book is wrongly stated as 1845), and 'Annuaire du C. A. F.,' 1880, pp. xiii-xxiv.

72 See 'Alpine Journal,' vol. x. p. 52; vol. xiii. pp. 281-83.

73 'Alpine Journal,' vol. xii. p. 274.

74 See recent vols. of the 'Echo des Alpes' and the 'S. A. C. Jahrbuch.'

75 See 'Alpine Journal,' vol. x. pp. 234-35.

76 See 'Alpine Journal,' vol. xii. pp. 219-40, 300-13. It is very hard to resist the temptation to trace out once more the very curious and interesting history of the various glacier theories which have prevailed from time to time. It will be found narrated in detail in chapter vi. of Prof. Heim's work, and more gene-

rally (down to 1815) also in Herr Studer's work (pp. 170, 195-96 266, 346-54, 560-70, and see his index, s. v. Gletscher). The earlier theories are also sketched by Mr. Freshfield ('Alpine Journal,' vol. viii. Appendix. pp. 39-41).

77 See 'Alpine Journal,' vol. xii. pp. 472-76.

78 See 'Alpine Journal,' vol. xiii. pp. 51-52.

79 See Von Haller, vol. i. pp. 368-71, and Studer, p. 166.

80 A partial exception is the case of Herr Gottlieb Studer, who in his 'Ueber Eis und Schnee' (1869-83) has written the history of the *Swiss Alps*.

81 Messrs. Longmans, the publishers of the 'Alpine Guide,' have most courteously communicated to me the following details as to the various issues of the Introduction and of the book itself in various shapes and slightly modified recensions, the 1882-84 issues being merely reprints of the preceding edition without any corrections.

(1) *Introduction*, 1864, 1866, 1870, 1873, 1875, 1877, and 1883.

(2) *Western Alps*, 1863, 1866, 1870, 1873, 1877, and 1884.

(3) *Central Alps*, 1864, 1866, 1869, 1870, 1873, 1876, and 1882.

(4) *Eastern Alps*, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1874, and 1879.

The entire work was first issued in separate sections, clothed in the well-known green covers, in the year 1873. The first section published in this form was the 'South Western Alps,' while the latest was the 'Pennine Alps' in 1878.

82 An enormous amount of most valuable information as to the Alpine history of the chief mountain districts of Switzerland lies buried in the 'Itinerarium für das Excursions-Gebiet des S. A. C.,' issued by the Swiss Alpine Club for the use of its members who proposed to visit the special district selected for exploration. This was published from 1868 to 1882 in the shape of a systematic history of each peak or pass in the district. In 1886 the S. A. C. resolved to adopt another plan, and to henceforth issue only a classified index to the literature of the special district. As these pamphlets seem to be but little known outside the S. A. C., and as I have found by experience that much informa-

tion therein contained has not yet been utilised (though, of course, Herr Gottlieb Studer in his 'Ueber Eis und Schnee' has largely used them as far as they had appeared up to that time), I think it worth while to give a list of them, indicating the district described, and the year in which it was to be explored, generally corresponding with the year of issue. 1868: Col de Collon to Lyskamm. 1869: Lyskamm to Monte Leone. 1870: Binnenthal. 1871: St. Gotthard group. 1872: Piz Valrhein group. 1873: The Alps of Tessin. 1874: Bündner Oberland. 1875: The Alps of Unterwalden and Uri. 1876-77: Tödi-Sardona group. 1878-79: Bernina district. 1880-81: Diablerets and Wildhorn district. 1882-84: Bernese Oberland west of the Finsteraarhorn (see additions in 'Jahrbuch des S. A. C.,' vol. xviii. pp. 3-16). The only parts as yet published under the new arrangement are those for 1885-87 (with some additions in a separate pamphlet issued with the maps and panoramas of vol. xxiii. of the 'Jahrbuch'), Herr von Fellenberg's detailed index to the literature relating to the Western Bernese Alps ('Alpine Journal,' vol. xiii. p. 194), and for 1888 on the Graue Hörner-Calanda district. Portions of all these excellent summaries, with the exception of the first three and last three, have appeared in the 'Jahrbuch des S. A. C.,' but many most valuable hints and nearly all references to the literature of the subject have been left out.

83 See an interesting document giving the history, cost, &c., of the piercing of this tunnel, printed in the 'Geschichtsfreund,' vol. 42, 244-50.

84 Scheuchzer crossed the pass in 1705 and 1709, and it is worth while comparing his description of the old track ('Itin. Alp.' pp. 316, 484) with those of the new path given by Coxe (1801 edition, vol. i. pp. 394-96), who crossed in 1776 and 1785, and by Bourrit (1781 book, vol. i. pp. 132-33). The contrast between the two roads is well shown by the engravings in the 1714, 1730, 1778 editions of the 'Délices de la Suisse' (vol. iv. pp. 720-21, that given by Scheuchzer in the narrative of his 1705 journey) and in the 1764 and 1776 editions of the same book (vol. iv. p. 178). It is said that before 1737 the path from the Dauben See bore

nearly due east up the Furkenthäli and led down to the Baths by way of the Clavinen Alp and the Dala Valley (see the present Federal map); but the engravings in the 'Délices' of 1764 and 1776 do not seem to bear out this statement.

85 There are but two higher carriage roads in Europe—those over the Stelvio Pass (9,042 or 9,056 feet according to the most recent surveys) and the Col du Galibier in Dauphiné (8,721 feet). The Mont Cenis road attains a height of 6,685 feet.

86 'Alpine Journal,' vol. viii. Appendix, p. 47 n.

87 Bordier's Christian names are given by Herr Studer (p. 418) as 'Louis César,' but according to M. Théophile Dufour ('William Windham et Pierre Martel,' separate reprint, p. 9, n. 1) they really were 'André César.' Von Haller (vol. i. p. 449, No. 1485) tells us that the mistake of attributing Bordier's book to Bourrit was made by the author of one of the German translations of this work issued in 1775. (See too note 34 above.) Von Haller himself rightly gives the authorship to Bordier, but cites an English translation (Norwich, 1775), which is none other than the well-known translation of Bourrit's book, 'Description des Glacieres, Glaciers et Amas de Glace du Duché de Savoye' (1773, 8vo. 137 pages), by Messrs. C. and F. Davy, a copy of the second edition of which is in the Alpine Club Library. In 1863 Herr Studer (pp. 418, 518) gives Bordier his due, though Mr. Ball does not mention Bordier or his book at all in the list of books in his Introduction to the 'Alpine Guide.' Bourrit complains (in his Preface) that Bordier had made his journey furnished with a MS. copy of Bourrit's description, and that, in consequence of this sharp practice, he (Bourrit) was obliged to hasten the publication of his book, for Bordier had only spent a week on his journey, and had seen but a single glacier.

88 The monastery, possibly then situated in Bourg S. Pierre, is first mentioned about 812—'monasterium quod est situm in monte Jovis' (Gremaud, 'Documents relatifs à l'histoire du Vallais,' vol. i. p. 21). We read about 842-49 of 'monasterium S. Petri quod ad radicem montis situm est' (*ibid.* vol. i. p. 26); and about 851 of Hartmann, 'elemosinarius Sancti Petri Montis



Jovis' (*ibid.* vol. i. p. 27), though perhaps both these mentions refer to the house in Bourg S. Pierre. In 859 we hear of the 'hospitale quod est in Monte Jovis' (*ibid.* vol. i. p. 28), and in 1011 of the gift of the abbacy 'montis Jovensis sancti Petri' (*ibid.* vol. i. p. 54). S. Bernard of Menthon (see note 4 above) re-founded, on the crest of the col, this early house. In 1125 we find mention made in two documents of the 'ecclesia sancti Nicolai Montis Jovis' (*ibid.* vol. i. pp. 77-78), in 1145 of the 'hospitale de Monte Jovis' (*ibid.* vol. i. p. 85); finally about 1154 of 'hospitium Bernhardi, Bianhards spitala, in monte situm,' as well as of 'hospitium Petri, Petrsspitali,' or Bourg S. Pierre (*ibid.* vol. i. p. 87), and in 1158 of the 'ecclesia S. Nicolai et S. Bernardi de Monte Jovis' (*ibid.* vol. i. p. 94). An abbot is mentioned in 812, but from 1154 (*ibid.* vol. i. p. 91) onwards the head is a 'prepositus,' thus showing that by that time the house was probably in the hands of the Austin Canons Regular, who have certainly held it since 1215. I have not been able to ascertain the date at which the present hospice was built, though it is later than the great fire of 1555 (P. Laurenz Burgener, 'Der heilige Bernhard von Menthon,' p. 165), but the present church dates from 1686 (Ratti and Casanova, 'Guida Illustrata della Valle d'Aosta,' p. 249).

Father Burgener (*op. cit.* 130) says that the name 'mons sancti Bernardi Major' is found as early as the thirteenth century. There are at present a prior and about a dozen canons in residence, the provost or chief of the Order living in the mother house at Martigny.

89 The house here is said to have been founded by S. Bernard of Menthon, who lived in the tenth, more probably in the eleventh century. Signor Vaccarone ('Le Vie delle Alpi Occidentali,' 1884, p. 43) says that in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries it is called 'hospitale columnæ Jovis' and 'domus montis columnæ Jovis' (from the column—the 'colonne Joux'—still standing), and that in 1181 for the first time it is named 'domus sancti Bernardi montis Jovis.' Later the former name was used to distinguish it from the Great S. Bernard, on which it was dependent certainly in 1466, probably before.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, the hospice and its property was handed over to the military order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus, which is now represented by the 'Rector,' who has under his orders various servants, &c. (Ratti and Casanova, *op. cit.* 343). In 1500 the pass was called 'Mont Jouvét,' to distinguish it from 'Mont Joux' or the Great S. Bernard.

90 The hospice is first mentioned in 1235 as 'domus hospitalis de Semplon,' belonging at that time to the Knights of S. John of Jerusalem (the Hospitallers), and governed by a 'magister' (Vacarone, 43), though by tradition founded by a prince of the house of Savoy (Gremaud, vol. i. p. 319). In 1246 and 1252 it is called 'hospitale sancti Johannis de Collibus de Semplon' (*ibid.* vol. i. pp. 387, 478); though some read 'Sancti Jacobi' in all three cases, for that is said to have been its dedication. - It was governed by the Knights Hospitallers of the commandery of Conflans, but was suppressed in 1470. In 1653 it was granted by the men of Brieg to Gaspard Stokalper, who rebuilt the hospice in the shape of a tower, which still exists and still belongs to that family. The new hospice was founded in 1802 by Napoleon, after the new road was undertaken (1800-5), but was not begun till 1811, and only finished in 1825-38, by the Austin Canons of the Great S. Bernard, to whom Napoleon had handed it over, and four of whom now serve it (see appendix to M. F. de Gingins la Sarraz's 'Développement de l'Indépendance du Haut-Vallais,' p. 74; Abbé Rameau's 'Le Vallais Historique,' p. 110; and Furrer's 'Geschichte von Wallis,' vol. ii. p. 68).

91 The chapel on this pass is traditionally believed to have been built by Azzo of Milan (who reigned 1329-39), though probably this was only a restoration. The first documentary mention of it occurs in 1331, as 'ecclesia Sancti Gothardi' (see original text in 'Geschichtsfreund,' vol. xli. p. 70). We learn that in 1431 the hospice belonged to the parish of Airolo, and was but a poor building. In 1496 mention is made of a lay brother who managed it. But this accommodation was quite insufficient. Hence S. Charles Borromeo, the great archbishop of Milan, who in 1560 had personally experi-

enced inconvenience on the pass, determined to place there a priest of the order of Oblates, and set aside an annual endowment of one hundred thalers for that purpose. His death took place (1584) before his scheme was carried out. His successor at Milan, however, in 1602 sent a priest of that Order to live on the pass, and Uri built (1623-29) a house for him. But this foundation soon came to an end, for between 1648 and 1683 the house was unoccupied. In 1683 the then archbishop of Milan, and Uri, agreed to restore it, and to build another house for travellers of a higher class, the charge of both being committed to two Capuchin friars. This new scheme lasted a considerable time, and though on April 10, 1775, an avalanche carried away the chapel and stables, they were rebuilt on a much larger scale by means of a public subscription (the hospice proper did not suffer from the avalanche). Several of the older books of travel give accounts of the Capuchins and their house. De Saussure was there in 1775 and in 1783, his ascents in the neighbourhood greatly amazing the friars (vol. iv. pp. 30, 34). Speaking of his second visit he says: 'Je trouvai les Capucins toujours officieux et empressés envers les étrangers. Ils commencent à s'accoutumer à voir des étrangers qui étudient les montagnes. Dans mon premier voyage, en 1775, ils crurent que c'étoit chez moi une espèce de folie. Ils dirent à quelqu'un de ma connoissance, qui passa chez eux peu de tems après moi, que je paroissais d'un bon caractère, mais qu'il étoit bien malheureux que j'eusse une manie aussi ridicule que celle de ramasser toutes les pierres que je rencontrais, d'en remplir mes poches et d'en charger des mulets' (vol. iv. p. 28). Things had, however, improved by 1783, for De Saussure, expressing his regret at leaving the pleasant society of Fathers Lorenzo and Carlo (the latter of whom was the younger, 'et se disoit très-*avventuroso* dans les montagnes'), adds, 'Ils commencent, comme je l'ai dit, à connoître les fossiles de leur montagne; ils me donnèrent quelques jolis morceaux d'adulaire' (vol. iv. p. 37). In the next paragraph he gives a hint to future visitors: 'Lorsqu'on s'est arrêté chez eux, ils ne donnent point le compte de la dépense qu'on a faite; mais on l'évalue soi-même sur le pied

de ce qu'on auroit payé dans une bonne auberge, et on laisse ostensiblement sur son assiette ce à quoi l'on s'est taxé.' In 1775 he met at the hospice Mr. Greville, the celebrated mineralogist, who was taking a carriage over the pass for the first time on record. Next year (August 9, 1776) Archdeacon Coxe spent the night at the Capuchins' house, and has given the following account of his stay (1801 edition, vol. i. p. 337): 'We are now lodged at a house inhabited by two Italian friars from the convent of Capuchins at Milan, who receive all strangers that pass through these inhospitable regions. One of the friars is absent, so that I am in possession of his bedchamber: it is a snug little room, where a man may sleep very well without being an anchorite, and which, after the fatigues of our journey, I enjoy with a satisfaction much too sensible to envy the luxury of a palace. Our host has just supplied us with a dinner, consisting of delicious trout, with which the neighbouring lake of Locendro abounds, eggs, and milk, together with excellent butter and cheese; both made in this dreary spot. Upon our arrival we were rejoiced to find a good fire; the weather being so exceedingly cold, that I, who was only clad in a thin camlet coat, entered the house half frozen.' Coxe was there again in August 1785, and his account then is also worth transcribing (vol. i. pp. 341-42): 'On my entrance into the little plain in which the friar's house is situated, although the air was exceedingly keen, I did not experience that piercing cold which I felt in 1776; but the day was fine and the sun shone unclouded. When we arrived at the house the friar was saying mass to an audience of about twenty persons, many of whom come from the neighbouring alps, where they are tending cattle, to divine service on Sundays and festivals. At the conclusion of mass, the friar, whose name is Francis, immediately recollected, and received me with great satisfaction. He is well known to all travellers that pass this way, having already inhabited this dreary spot above twenty years. Since my last expedition, he has considerably enlarged his house, and rendered it extremely commodious. It contains at present, besides several sitting-rooms, kitchens, and an apartment for the family, nine small but neat bedchambers

appropriated to travellers. The expense of this addition has already amounted to 300*l.*, part of which he collected in various districts of Switzerland; an equal sum is required to discharge the present debts, and to make the further necessary improvements, which he hopes to procure by another collection.' He showed his guest about very obligingly and communicated to him his meteorological observations, which we learn from Ebel he continued until the year 1792.

De Mayer in 1784 (vol. i. pp. 300-1) was very hospitably entertained by Friar Lawrence, who was then alone, as his companion had abandoned him through disgust of the solitary and hard life he was forced to lead. 'Il y a un Hôpital pour les malades et pour les Voyageurs du commun. Les Moines ont des chambres réservées aux personnes distinguées. . . . Les Etrangers bien nés lui (sc. au Frère) donnent la somme qu'ils jugent à propos; il ne demande rien, mais il se place à la porte pour recevoir. On est proprement servi et passablement couché.'

Bourrit's account is very querulous, not to say more (1781 book, vol. ii. pp. 54-55): 'Nous arrivâmes à l'hospice des Capucins à l'heure de leur dîner: on pourrait croire que cette maison est une imitation du couvent du grand Saint-Bernard; mais on se tromperoit beaucoup, cet hospice est simplement une petite chapelle où les voyageurs peuvent entendre la messe: on y voit une maison habitée par deux Pères, qui ne sont pas là pour secourir et soigner les passagers, comme il seroit à souhaiter; mais ils croient avoir rempli leur vocation quand ils ont chanté l'Office. A côté de cette maison, l'on en voit une autre qui est une espèce d'auberge où les voyageurs s'arrêtent; elle est pire que le Spital du mont Grimsel. Un des Capucins parle François et Italien, l'autre Allemand: en conversant avec le premier sur les divers passages des Alpes, je lui peignis le bel établissement du couvent du grand Saint-Bernard. "Cela peut être," me dit-il; "mais le nôtre est un hospice d'âmes." Cette destination toute spirituelle leur vaut encore de l'argent, soit par les collectes qu'ils font chaque année, soit par la générosité du Roi de France. Aujourd'hui qu'ils sont assez bien en revenus, ils

les emploient à l'agrandissement de leur maison qu'ils rebâtissent: il faut espérer que quand les âmes seront passablement bien logées, l'on pensera à mettre plus à l'aise les voyageurs. Au reste le Capucin François nous a paru avoir l'usage du monde, il eut la politesse de nous conduire à la descente vers l'Italie.' Ebel (French translation of the 1809-10 edition, vol. iii. p. 141) states more accurately the real objects with which the Capuchins lived on the pass: 'Les fonctions des Capucins consistent à aller au secours des voyageurs lorsqu'ils ont quelque danger à courir sur la route, à leur donner les soins nécessaires et à dire la messe.' During the troubles of 1799 and 1800, the hospice was pillaged and its inhabitants driven out, the main part of the buildings being also torn down and burnt up by a French outpost. In 1800 the parish of Airolo built a miserable hut for the men charged with the care of the goods passing over the pass. A new hospice was built in 1834 by the parish of Airolo and is now superintended by two lay managers, with a chaplain, who, besides his religious duties, keeps a meteorological register. It is supported by voluntary offerings. Near it is the good Hotel Monte Prosa, opened in 1867. (For the history of the hospice consult 'Jahrbuch des S. A. C.' vol. vii. pp. 80-84, where many references are given, and the Ebels of 1809 and 1818 under 'Gotthard, S.')

92 The spring at Pfäfers was known as early as 1242 (possibly even in 1038), but the first bathhouse was not built till the days of Abbot John (1362-86), head of the great Benedictine monastery there (founded c. 720), for on Jan. 25, 1382, we find the monks granting a ten years lease of half the bath to the two brothers Camauritzi, on condition that they are to be responsible for all buildings then standing or to be put up in their half (see the Register of the Abbey, No. 282, p. 40, in K. Wegelin's edition, 1850, included in 'Die Regesten der Archive in der Schweiz. Eidgenossenschaft'). This was reconstructed in 1420. A new bath and a new inn were built in 1630, and are shown in the engraving given by Merian (1642) (see Peyer, 'Geschichte des Reisens in der Schweiz,' pp. 61-3).

93 The pass of the Grimsel has been certainly known since

at least 1211, when Berchthold V., Duke of Züringen, crossed it to make a foray on the men of the Valais. In the early sixteenth century Sebastian Münster thus describes it (Basel edition of 1550, p. 333): 'Non procul a Furca est mons alius quem Grimsslen vocant, per quem quoque exitus in Helvetiam de Valesia inventus est, sed qui absque sudore et labore magno superari non potest.'

The earliest recorded mention of any inn there occurs in 1479, when the right of levying a toll on passers-by was granted to the tenant (A. von Tillier's '*Geschichte des eidgenössischen Freistaates Bern*,' vol. ii. p. 562). Stumpf spent the night of August 26-27, 1544, there, and calls it a 'Spittal.' The house was rebuilt in 1557, and again after the fire on November 6, 1852, due to the criminal intentions of the landlord, Zybach. I have not been able to ascertain that the hospice was ever strictly speaking a religious foundation: from 1544 onwards it has been the property of the district of Hasli, the authorities of which are bound to keep it open all the year round.

Stumpf's brief account of his 1544 journey over the Grimsel will be found on p. 240 of vol. vi. (1884) of the '*Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte*,' issued by the Allgemeine Geschichtsforschende Gesellschaft der Schweiz, and is reprinted thence on p. 432 of the '*Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub*,' vol. xix. I cannot refrain from giving a translation of the fuller description of the hospice given by Stumpf in his Chronicle (1546, p. 547 of the 1606 edition): 'On the shore of this lake there is an inn and hospice, built to shelter wanderers, and called "Zum Spital." A very bad lodging place it is, for they are obliged to bring lime and wood thither on the backs of horses; stones are cheap there; no wood grows there of the usual height, except the wood which is brought up by the packhorses. The folk of Hasle maintain this hospice, appointing a landlord and guardian (*Spitalmeister*) who has the exclusive use of the house. He supplies wanderers with food and drink in return for payment, and to those who have not the means of paying he gives bread and victuals for God's sake. It is a bad inn, but one commonly finds good wine there, which the owners of packhorses bring over

the mountains from the Val d'Ossola and the Valais, and good bread, which is brought up from Hasle, a long twelve miles away; cheese, meat, and whatever else one has to live on, must all be brought up thither. In winter time, for several months, the landlord and guardian cannot remain up there, and has to go down to the valley below.'

Archdeacon Coxe spent the night of August 11-12, 1776 (as well as that of August 29-30, 1786) at the Grimsel hospice, which he describes as a 'solitary hovel.' 'It made so bad an appearance at first sight, that we concluded we should get nothing to eat: but we were very agreeably disappointed; as we have found in this desert spot all the accommodations we could wish for, except beds, and these are the less necessary after the sound sleep we had last night [at Münster, in the Upper Valais]. Not to mention excellent cheese, butter and milk (our ordinary fare), we got some good wine, a small portion of kid, and a boiled *marmot*, which we have just devoured, although at another time we should have revolted at the very idea.' He complains in his next letter that during his night in the hayloft at the Grimsel, he suffered so much from cold 'as scarcely to sleep one minute.' His whole account of the pass is well worth reading (1780 edition, pp. 154-5; 1801 edition, i. 353, 363). Bourrit (1781 book, vol. ii. pp. 16, 17, 32) calls the hospice 'une maison aussi simple qu'il est possible, mais utile aux voyageurs,' but complains bitterly of the rooms and beds, not hesitating to name it 'l'asyle le plus repoussant qui existe dans les montagnes.'

94 The baths were known in Roman times, and came into fashion again from 1402 onwards. In 1484 Jost of Silenen, bishop of Sion, built a bathhouse. In 1501 Cardinal Schinner built two new baths and three inns, really 'creating' the place, but most of these buildings were destroyed by a great avalanche in 1518.

Sebastian Münster (pp. 346-7 of the Basel edition of 1550) says that the village consisted of 'aliquot hospicia et domus cum sacello,' and gives an elaborate account of the baths, with a most curious and remarkable illustration of the establishment.



Another avalanche overwhelmed the baths in 1719 (Peyer, pp. 66-67). It slowly rose from its ruins again in the course of the eighteenth century. Hence the descriptions given by Coxe in 1776, and by Bourrit (1781 book), are not favourable so far as the inns are concerned. The former says (1801 edition, vol. i. p. 397) : 'The accommodations for the company are very inconvenient : each person having for his own use a small apartment not more than a few feet square, in which there is just room for a bed, a table and two chairs. The public dining-room is upon a larger scale, as is also an apartment where the company occasionally assemble. Formerly (sc. before 1719) the accommodations were tolerably good.' The latter (vol. i. p. 128) writes : 'Les maisons du village sont presque toutes de bois, excepté une ou deux qui sont en pierre ; les plus belles sont destinées à loger les étrangers : on n'y trouve pas non plus toutes les commodités des autres bains, le pays ne sauroit les fournir ; et l'on y est trop exposé aux avalanches de neiges, pour oser y faire de grands établissemens.' The first edition of Ebel (1793) says (vol. ii. p. 102) that the accommodation for visitors was 'herzlich schlecht,' though the baths themselves were good and much frequented, nor do later editions give a much better account of things, until that of 1823, which (vol. i. p. 284) specially recommends the *Maison Blanche*. Even in the first edition of Murray (1838, p. 10) things were not much better, for though the '*Maison Blanche*' is mentioned as the best inn and good, it is stated that all the houses were of wood (except that inn), and abandoned from October to May.

95 When Pococke and Windham, the forerunners of thousands of later travellers, made their famous visit to Chamonix in June 1741, they advanced as into an enemy's country, carrying their camp equipage with them and setting up their tents on the banks of the Arve. This we learn from the original accounts of the journey, whether in the French or the English versions ; and these facts are confirmed by the later narratives of Bourrit (1773) and of De Saussure. Albert Smith, however, gives (end of chapter iii. of his '*Story of Mont Blanc*') quite a different account of their lodgings : 'It may be mentioned here that the present

Hôtel de Londres is the oldest establishment in the Valley. It dates from the time of Pococke and Windham. These two travellers rested in a little cabaret, owned by Jean Pierre Tairraz, grandfather of the present innkeeper, M. Edouard Tairraz. There was no sign to this humble hostel, but merely a bush hung over the door, and Mr. Windham suggested that the name "Hôtel de Londres" should be painted up. This was done, and it attracted most of the English visitors who did not find quarters with the curé. One of the Couterans opposed Jean Tairraz, calling his house "Hôtel d'Angleterre," but finally Tairraz combined the two names into one, as it now stands. There seems to be absolutely no warrant for any of these statements (except the last), and the English text of Windham's narrative which Albert Smith gives directly contradicts them. Yet they have been accepted by Mr. William Longman in his papers on 'Modern Mountaineering' ('Alpine Journal,' vol. viii. Appendix, p. 4), and by M. Durier in his excellent book on 'Mont Blanc' (2nd edition, p. 64).

De Saussure tells us that on his first visit to the valley in 1760 he found no passable inn, but only some wretched cabarets, and that the rare travellers (generally English) who appeared on the scene were lodged at the curé's. This state of things, he adds, went on for four or five years longer, but later (by 1786), when the journey became the fashion, large and good inns were necessarily built and barely sufficed to lodge all the visitors who then flowed into the valley. Bordier in 1772 found no inn, and had to seek hospitality from the curé, but Bourrit, writing in the same year concerning his earlier visits, speaks of one built some years before, which was kept by 'an honest careful widow,' and offered satisfactory quarters (1773 book, p. 30; English translation, p. 57). De Saussure, writing in 1779 (vol. i. p. 434), speaks very highly of this widow, Madame Couteran, who received all the strangers coming to see the glaciers, and who could also dispose of beds at her son-in-law, M. Charlet's.

[In 1788 there were 1,500 visitors at Chamonix in the course of the season (Durier, p. 96). We learn from Ebel (1809) that as early as 1780-92 there were annually from 800 to 1,200 visitors seen in the valley.]

Bourrit in his 1785 (vol. iii. p. 48) and 1803 (vol. i. p. 28) books endorses this opinion, laying special stress on the beautiful rooms she had built, the clean beds in her house, and the excellent table; he adds that there were two other inns in the village, which, according to M. Durier (p. 96), were kept by Simond and Jean Pierre Tairraz, the former being probably the 'Union,' and the latter, no doubt, the 'Ville de Londres' referred to by Albert Smith. Prof. Martyn (1788, p. 86) simply adds that the accommodation is good at Chamonix, mentioning no name, and his French editor (1794, p. 147) does not modify these statements. Meiners (vol. iv. p. 190) in 1788 lodged at the Ville de Londres, where he found clean rooms and good service. The 1793 Ebel (vol. ii. p. 35) says that there were three inns there, all equally good. We learn from Bourrit's '*Itinéraire de Genève*,' &c. (1808, pp. 62-3) that the good landlady who had left such a favourable impression on all her guests had died in 1807 at the age of ninety-seven, and that her son then kept the inn called *Hôtel d'Angleterre*. Another excellent inn, the landlord of which was M. Terraz (Tairraz), existed in 1808. The 1809 Ebel (vol. ii. p. 335) says that the three large inns were quite like those in towns. Madame Couteran's was the oldest and most frequented, while the Ville de Londres was scarcely inferior and was kept by M. Terraz (Tairraz), who had done much towards making the mule path up to the Montanvert. Shelley and his party in 1816 put up at the *Hôtel de Londres* (Six Weeks' Tour). Mr. Wall's English edition of Ebel (1818, p. 408), following his text, states that there were 'three large inns as good as those of any town,' but omits all details.

The 1824 Richard (opposite p. 1) says: '*Dans le romantique voyage que nous proposons aux voyageurs, nous signalerons l'HÔTEL DE L'UNION, avec bains de santé et de propreté, tenu par MM. frères CHARLET et SIMOND; soins empressés, instruction, complaisance et bonne table.*' Mrs. Starke's '*Information and Directions for Travellers on the Continent*' (7th edition, 1829, p. 37 n.) says: '*The new Inn is neat and comfortable.*' Mr. L. Agassiz in the same year (1829, pp. 240, 242) states that there were three inns, 'two of which are excellent,' he himself lodging at the Union, while the '*Itinéraire du Voyage à Chamouny*' (1829, p. 48

of German edition) mentions the Union and the Angleterre. The 1830 Richard (p. 162) gives a more detailed account: 'Deux grandes auberges existent à Chamouny, l'ancienne Ville de Londres toujours tenue par Terraz; la nouvelle a pour enseigne la *Parfaite-Union*, tenue par Charlet et Simond.' The 1835 edition of the 'Traveller's Guide' says (p. 428): 'The hotels are large and comfortable. The Union and the Hôtel de Londres are the principal.'

Thus the Londres (which had now absorbed the Angleterre) was the old inn, the Union the new one. In the first edition of Murray (1838, p. 291) we hear much of the Hôtel de Londres et d'Angleterre, on which great praise is bestowed, the landlord (M. Victor Tairraz) and his wife being spoken of in the warmest terms. 'It is the oldest establishment, and has never forfeited the reputation of being one of the best held and appointed inns to be found in the Alps; where Victor Tairrez and his excellent wife are so practised in their acquaintance with, and their provision for, the wants of travellers, especially English, that more *comfort* will be found there than in almost any other inn out of England.' There were also two other inns, the Union and the Nord. In the 1842 edition (p. 317), the Tairraz and their inn are again warmly commended, the Union is said to be 'good,' while the Couronne (kept by an old *guide-chef*, Joseph Tairraz) was good and clean, though small.

The 1843 Ebel (p. 188) mentions five inns—Londres, Angleterre, Union, Couronne, and Tour—but does not add a word of commendation or warning to any of them; while the 1844 Bädeler curtly says (p. 343), the Londres et Angleterre was extremely good, the Union was less recommended, and the Couronne was pretty good. Far otherwise is the 1843 edition of Richard (pp. 105-6), which describes very fully the four inns at Chamonix. The Hôtel de l'Union (built 1817, at the Geneva end of the village) belonged to MM. Charlet and Simond, and appears to have offered every comfort, good rooms, mineral baths, dining-rooms on each floor, three tables d'hôte a day, a billiard table, French and English papers, polyglot waiters, moderate bill, but (sad to relate) lacked a capable and active *femme de chambre* for

the ladies. The Hôtel de Londres et d'Angleterre was the oldest inn, and passed (this probably means that the old rivals Londres and Angleterre were then united), in 1819, into the hands of M. Victor Tairraz, and occupied a very fine position, its forty rooms being very clean, while some of them had been occupied by Emperors, Kings and Queens on their visits to Chamonix. The new owner had done much to develop this inn, and as he had been a guide himself (up Mont Blanc in 1809 with Marie Paradis), he was able to give all necessary information. The Hôtel de la Couronne (built in 1832) was kept by M. Joseph Tairraz, an *ex-guide chef*, and could accommodate forty to forty-five visitors; it rejoiced in a *belvédère*, which was the only one of its kind in the place. The Hôtel du Nord (formerly Hôtel d'Angleterre) was a *succursale* of the Union, and reserved for those making a lengthy stay in the valley. The Hôtel de la Tour was in a fine position. There seems at that time to have been a sort of *casino* in Chamonix, kept by the owner of the Union, but open to visitors from all the hôtels in the village; it contained a billiard-room, a drawing-room, and a reading-room, and was largely frequented on wet days. M. Richard himself stayed at the Union. The Londres et Angleterre was, however, the oldest established inn, and probably the most frequented, certainly by English travellers and European sovereigns.

The 1846 Murray (p. 336) praises the Londres et Angleterre, though not quite at such length as before, mentions Victor Tairraz only, and says the Couronne was pretty good. In the 1851 edition (p. 327) the Tairraz (now the brothers T.) are still mentioned first; the Union was very good indeed, not at all inferior to its rival; the Mont Blanc or Couronne is just mentioned; while the Royal (built in 1849), beyond the bridge, was the new inn. The Tairraz were then about to build an English chapel, but from the 1854 edition (p. 338) it appears that it was ultimately built in the grounds of the Hôtel Royal.

According to the 'Pioneers of the Alps' (in the life of François Couttet) Couttet first lodged some English mountaineers in 1863, in 1867 laid the foundations of a larger house, the centre

of the present group of buildings, and in 1868 definitively ceased to be a guide, and became exclusively an innkeeper.

96 De Saussure, vol. ii. p. 183. Brockedon (p. 29) gives the following description of the state of things in 1824: 'We entered one of these stone hovels, which was patronised by our guide. Hospitality sold here, was indicated by a bush of rhododendron tied to a stick, and kept on the gable by the weight of some stones; it was not a sign of wine, for none was to be had there, but it was a hint for *eau de vie*. Michel had provided wine and bread, &c., at Contamines. The hovel of which we took possession consisted of two dens, miscalled chambers; the outer one, "serving for kitchen, for parlour, and hall," was about five feet wide and ten feet long, with a fireplace at one end, but no chimney. The sleeping room contained three miserable couches, a long table on trestles in the centre, and two forms of the same length. At the end was the only window in this the chief hotel of Chapin; it contained four very small panes of glass when fitted in, but this was only on company occasions, two bars of iron crossed being the usual check against rats or weasels, for nothing larger could enter. A small lamp, of classic form, rendered the darkness visible, but scarcely enabled us to see that our dormitory had been recently fitted up for the travelling season. This discovery I accidentally made by thrusting my fingers into the yet soft mud and lime with which the walls were plastered. Here, however, we had brought good appetites and great fatigue; the first gave a relish to delicious milk and eggs; and the second, soon after, gave us up, wrapt in our cloaks, to sound sleep on the coarse palliasses.' Compare Latrobe's 'Alpenstock,' p. 273. The 1838 Murray (p. 304), says 'Some of the chalets are fitted up in a rude way to receive travellers who may be disposed to come here and sleep.'

97 The mineral spring was discovered in 1771, and a small building run up for the use of bathers. It was soon abandoned, but was completely restored in 1793-94 (Ober, vol. ii. p. 244; Wyss, vol. ii. p. 301). Hugi (1828, p. 131) speaks in the highest terms of the inn, which he considers to rank with the best in the Oberland, and Mr. Agassiz in 1829 (p. 155) says that it was 'a

good inn.' The 1838 Murray (p. 80) speaks of it as a 'homely inn,' Steinbock by name. It was burnt down in 1860, but has since been rebuilt.

98 Most probably this inn was established after the new road over the Gemmi was constructed, 1736-41, but the first notice of it in books of travel that I have come across is that by Coxe in 1776 (1801 edition, vol. i. p. 394): 'a single house on the Gemmi, where we procured some refreshment.' Bourrit (1781 book, vol. i. p. 140): 'La maison est tout à la fois un hospice et une auberge où les passagers trouvent du pain et du vin pendant quatre mois que ce passage est ouvert.' De Mayer (1784, vol. ii. p. 14) mentions 'un Hospice établi auprès du lac.' Robert (1790, vol. ii. p. 246) says: 'Je me trouvai inopinément dans un hospice établi pour ceux que la nécessité, je ne dis pas la curiosité (on ne le présume pas), dirige par ces affreux déserts. Quoiqu'il ne fût pas six heures, je me déterminai facilement à y passer la nuit, pour ne point m'engager à ses approches dans des lieux aussi sauvages. Une cahute habitée par un homme seul, en tout autre lieu que la Suisse, m'eût présenté un réduit redoutable: ici, j'y entrai avec joie, j'y dormis avec sécurité, et l'idée même du danger ne se présenta point à mon esprit sous un ciel où des loix conformes à la Nature n'ont point dégradé les hommes. Du lait chaud sans sel, du pain dur, et du fromage me présentèrent un repas délicieux, et furent les seuls mets que me servit mon hôte.' The 1823 Ebel says that in case of need night quarters may be found there. The 1838 Murray (p. 104) speaks of it as 'a solitary inn . . . a mere chalet, affording no other refreshment than cheese, milk, and brandy; and containing six or eight miserable beds.' It was rebuilt and enlarged in 1840 (Ober, vol. i. p. 566).

I cannot refrain from quoting here Sebastian Münster's account of his visit to the Gemmi. Speaking of Leukerbad he says (pp. 346-47 of the 1550 Basel edition): 'Ad occidentem thermarum eriguntur saxa in cælum, quæ sine mentis stupore, ob eorum altitudinem, præcipitia, et scissuras, inspicere nequeunt. Aliqua etiam sic hiant, perinde ac si minentur ruinam oppressura omnia quæ sunt in subjecta planicie. Retorquentur autem ab occidente in septentrionem, suntque intercisæ magnis

hiatibus et scissuris, per quos iter est inventum, aut magis hominum labore factum, per quod magno sudore et labore ascenditur, vocaturque eo loco saxosus ille mons Gemmi. Ascendit iter rectè in altum in modum fere cochleæ, habens perpetuas ambages et flexuras parvas ad lævam et dextram, estque iter valde angustum et periculosum maxime ebriis et his qui vertigine laborant. Quocumque enim demittuntur oculi, apparet chaos immensæ profunditatis, quam ægre etiam intueri possunt hi qui robustiori sunt capite. Certe ego non ascendi hunc montem citra tremorem ossium et cordis.' He alludes to his feat again on p. 333. (See too note 84, p. 191.)

99 Bourrit (1781 book, vol. i. p. 145): 'L'auberge où descend le voyageur est une maison fort belle quoique de bois, les meubles sont propres, chaque famille la tient à tour de rôle pendant deux années.' The 1793 Ebel (vol. ii. p. 85) says that there was then but one inn and that was good. In the 1838 Murray (p. 104) the inn is the Cheval Blanc, described as 'good, clean, and reasonable, and furnishing excellent trout'; it gradually fell away, and in 1852 the Ritter took its place, though it was bad and extortionate; but in 1855 the inn came into new hands and was rechristened the Victoria, the former holders building the Ours as a rival establishment (Hinchliff, 'Summer Months among the Alps,' pp. 59-60).

100 Bourrit in his 1781 book (vol. ii. p. 86), which is unchanged in this point in the 1785 edition, speaks only of the Pfarrer, but Storr (1781, vol. ii. p. 2) lodged at an inn. Meiners tells us, in a letter written on July 25, 1783 ('Briefe über die Schweiz,' vol. ii. p. 41), that there was then at Grindelwald a fairly large, cheap, and comfortable inn, though he preferred to lodge with the Pfarrer, who by reason of his advanced age only received travellers who were specially recommended to him. (This was Friedrich Kuhn, author of a careful description of the valley, who became Pfarrer in 1759, and held his office till his death in 1783, apparently after Meiners' visit). Wytttenbach (1787, p. 25) says, 'L'auberge de Grindelwald est assez recommandable aux voyageurs.' Prof. Martyn in 1788, p. 64 (no change in French edition, p. 112), found the inn so tolerable that he did



not find it necessary to accept the Pfarrer's offer of beds. In 1790 the inn was kept by Christian Bohren. The Ebels of 1804 (vol. ii. p. 78) and 1809 (vol. iii. p. 72) mention but a single inn, but add that when it is full the Pfarrer receives guests.

König (1814, p. 27) thus records his impressions: 'In the inn at Grindelwald one is well served, the people are very obliging; father and son are great hunters (the former fell some years ago into a crevasse in the glacier, broke his arm, and yet managed luckily to work his way out of his cold abode). As regards the house itself, it is built of wood only; every footfall can be heard, and this is unbearable at night, particularly when ill-bred parties are lodged above or near one's room. On the other hand the Pfarrer's house is a nearly new stone building, and the Pfarrer is so obliging as, like his colleague at Lauterbrunnen, to entertain travellers with the greatest good nature. He too is a mighty hunter, and is said to be the most stout-hearted of all when engaged in hunting chamois. His conversation on this subject is therefore very interesting.' We learn from other sources that the innkeeper's name was Christian Bohren, and the Pfarrer's Friedrich Lehmann (1805-18). Wyss (1817), (German edition, p. 626, French edition, vol. ii. p. 230) speaks of two inns as then existing in Gydisdorf, but himself went to the Pfarrer's. Mr. Wall's 'Ebel' (1818), following his original text, says (pp. 321, 444) that there is only one inn, but when it is full 'travellers are treated with hospitality at the parsonage-house,' the 1835 edition (p. 336) mentioning two inns but repeating the phrase as to the Pfarrer. The 1823 Ebel (p. 236) says that the 'inns' are roomy and good, but gives no names or other details. The 1824 Richard (introduction to Canton of Berne, p. 3) warmly recommends as 'une excellente maison,' the Hôtel de l'Aigle Noir kept by Samuel Blatter, formerly maitre d'hôtel of the Hôtel de la Maison de Ville at Unterseen: but the 1830 edition (p. 301) falls back on the old formula that there is one inn, the Aigle Noir, but that when it is full the Pfarrer is willing to lodge strangers. Samuel Blatter was still no doubt the landlord, for in 1832, being then the host of the Adler, he built another inn on the Faulhorn. Mr. Agassiz (1829, p. 152) speaks of 'two very good inns,' and in

the Murray of 1838 (p. 77) we find both the Adler and the Bär mentioned as 'tolerable,' rising to 'good' in the 1842 edition (p. 81), some details as to prices being given in that of 1846 (p. 80). The 1843 Richard (p. 200) places the Bear first, adding that the Aigle Noir was kept by Peter Bohren, while the Ebel of the same date (p. 326) simply says that there were two good inns, the Adler and the Bär, as well as a bath-house. The first edition of Bädeler (1844, p. 160) says that the Bear and Adler were both good, though rather dear considering the somewhat rustic accommodation. Dr. John Forbes ('A Physician's Holiday,' pp. 147-48) gives a most satisfactory account, 'both as to matter and form,' of the half-crown table d'hôte at the Adler on the evening of August 22, 1848.

101 De Saussure, vol. ii. p. 270. The narratives of later travellers are full of warnings against stopping here. By 1854 (Murray, p. 353) there were 'two small inns or chalets, one containing three, the other four beds, but the accommodation is very poor.'

102 Coxe (1776 and 1785, 1801 edition, vol. i. p. 386), Bourrit (1781, vol. i. p. 186), Meiners (1783, vol. ii. pp. 19, 34, 38), and Prof. Martyn (1788, p. 67, French version, p. 117) found no inn, and had recourse to the Pfarrer's hospitality. Yet De Mayer (1784, vol. ii. p. 3) speaks of an inn, while Wyttenbach (1787, p. 16) says: 'Quoiqu'on trouve à *Lauterbrounn* une auberge, les voyageurs ne laissent pas d'aller loger chez le Pasteur du lieu, chez lequel ils sont mieux traités.' The 1793 Ebel (vol. ii. p. 95) mentions an inn, and we learn from the 1804 (vol. iii. p. 64) and 1809 Ebels (vol. iii. p. 294) that in 1791, it was carried away by a sudden freshet of the Lüttschine, a German traveller, M. de Block, who was lodging there, having great trouble to save himself and his sketches, but in 1793, 1804, 1809, though this inn is mentioned, we still hear that the Pfarrer received any travellers who wished to lodge with him, and that he entertained them very well though presenting a bill. König (1814, p. 19) gives us his impressions thus: 'The inn is good, the people, though rather surly-looking, are good, honest, and obliging, and always provided with good trout from the Lüttschine. But anyone who

likes quiet and comfort does better to take up his quarters at the Pfarrer's, where the friendly pastor loci with his good-looking wife and his cherub children receives his guests in the most obliging manner.' Wyss (1817; German edition, pp. 459, 490; French edition, vol. ii. pp. 58, 89) mentions an inn, but himself always went to the Pfarrer's. Mr. Wall's English edition of Ebel (1818, p. 455) says that the village had but one inn, but that 'such strangers as go to the parsonage-house meet with good accommodation nearly on their own terms'; the 1835 edition (p. 328) of the book states that the village has a good inn. The 1824 Richard (p. 3 of introduction to Canton of Berne) speaks only of the Pfarrer's house, but the 1830 edition (p. 345) states that there was a good inn there. Mr. Agassiz (1829, p. 147) speaks of 'a very good inn.' The 'Nouvelle Description de l'Oberland Bernois' (1838) says, 'L'auberge de L. est parfaitement tenue, et l'étranger y trouve toutes les aisances de la vie.'

The 1838 Murray (p. 73) mentions the Capricorn (Steinbock) as 'tolerably good,' 'good' in 1842 (p. 76), 'tolerable' in 1846 (p. 76), 'good' in 1851 (p. 71), while the 1843 Ebel (p. 382) speaks of the Steinbock, and of another inn by the church. This last is doubtless the 'Heuch' (? Haus or Chute) 'du Staubbach, nouvelle et bonne maison située sur le passage de la petite Scheidegg,' mentioned by the 1843 Richard (p. 201). The 1844 Bädiker (p. 149) mentions the Steinbock as good.

103 Bourrit (1785, vol. iii. p. 223): 'L'auberge qu'on y trouve n'est pas mauvaise.' In 1808 (see Bourrit's 'Itinéraire de Genève,' p. 161) it was kept by the Creton family. Mr. Wall's 'Traveller's Guide' (1818, p. 404) says, 'there is a good inn at Trient,' but also (p. 510), following Ebel, 'the inn is not exactly bad, at any rate a bed may be procured for the night.' The 1838 Murray (p. 300) is rather full: 'The traveller reaches the little auberge in the hamlet, where he may rest and refresh. Here, a new room has been built as a *salle à manger*, but the dormitory is wretched: it must, however, be worse before weariness refuses even such accommodation.'

104 The early visitors to the Montenvers lunched near, and sometimes slept under the shelter of, a great boulder, called the

'Pierre des Anglais' (from the visit of Pococke and Windham in 1741), or in a shepherd's hut close by. In 1779 an Englishman named Blair, who was residing at Geneva, gave four guineas for the construction of a hospice there, which existed till 1812. It was but a small wooden house (with the motto 'Utile Dulci' above the door), which is called 'commodious' by Coxe (1801 edition, vol. ii. p. 12). Blair's cabin was, however, of great use to travellers, and was visited by Goethe as early as November 5, 1779. M. de Sémonville, the French ambassador to the Porte, suggested to Bourrit the construction of a larger house, but his promised donation was intercepted, and the new building was constructed at the expense of M. Desportes, the French Resident at Geneva. Through the untiring energy of Bourrit it was ready by the summer of 1795, and from having the words 'À la Nature' over the door is generally known as the 'Temple de la Nature.' It contained chairs, a table, and even four beds of a sort (see the view of it opposite p. 40 of vol. i. of Bourrit's 'Description des Cols, ou Passages des Alpes'). But though it was locked, and the innkeeper was willing to lend the key on application, travellers broke into it and used the furniture for fuel for their fires, so that by 1803 it was in a pitiable state. M. Le Doulcet Pontécoulant had it restored; the key of the house was entrusted to M. Couteran, of the Hôtel d'Angleterre, and a 'Livre des Amis,' or Travellers' Book, was placed there. This building is mentioned in the 1804 Ebel (vol. ii. p. 187), and was visited by an English party in September 1800 ('Alpine Journal,' vol. vii. p. 433), as also by Prof. J. D. Forbes in 1832 ('Travels in the Alps of Savoy,' p. 74). In 1840 a new inn was built at the expense of the commune of Chamonix (it is commended in the 1842 Murray, p. 320; and the 1844 Bädeler, pp. 346-47), which in turn was replaced in 1879 by the present large establishment.

M. Durier ('Le Mont Blanc,' 2nd edition, pp. 164-69) has given an interesting sketch of the history of this inn. Nearly all his information is derived from De Saussure, vol. ii. p. 23; Bourrit's 1803 book, vol. i. p. 37; the French Ebel of 1810, vol. ii. p. 364 n.; and Forbes's 'Travels,' pp. 73-74.

105 1804 Ebel, vol. ii. p. 13 (not 1793 Ebel, vol. ii. p. 7), but

the inn is certainly much older, for the Nüfenen Pass is mentioned as early as 1543 by Sebastian Münster (Basel edition of 1550, p. 333) under the name of Nyfi. 'Per Gries et Nyfi patet iter ad Eschenthal' (i.e. Val d'Ossola).

106 The springs were discovered in 1806, and the proprietor soon built a bath-house, so that by 1810 they were quite fashionable (see M. Durier's 'Le Mont Blanc,' 2nd edition, pp. 299-300, and the 1830 Richard, p. 520). Brockedon visited them in 1824, and writes (p. 16): 'It is a little fairy spot, in a beautiful valley, where excellent accommodation may be had *en pension*, hot mineral baths for the sick, and delightful walks round this little paradise for the convalescent;' a passage which is quoted by Murray in the 1838 (p. 287) and many subsequent editions. The Hôtel du Mont Joli in the village was in existence in 1853 (see 2nd edit. of Messrs. Hudson and Kennedy's book, p. 45), and was the centre, in that and the following year, from which attempts (in some cases successful) on Mont Blanc were made by the Gûter and Miage routes (see Messrs. Hudson and Kennedy's 'Where There's a Will There's a Way,' 1st edit. p. 25; and 'Peaks, Passes and Glaciers,' 1st series, p. 59).

107 De Saussure and Bourrit do not seem to have ever visited Sixt. On the occasion of the visits paid to it by Deluc in 1765 and 1770, he and his companions were hospitably entertained by the Austin Canons Regular ('Relation de différents Voyages dans les Alpes du Faucigny,' pp. 4, 21), whose house was founded in 1144, but was dissolved at the time of the Revolution, in the year 1793. The ruins of the monastery (built in 1622) were put to different uses. The southern wing came into the occupation of a certain Cochet, an innkeeper, whose wife had received Albanis Beaumont on his first visit to this place, where he died (and was buried) in 1811. Beaumont praised her attention in very high terms, and the inn was kept by this couple in 1820, when a detailed description is given of it by 'F. J. M.' in his 'Itinéraire descriptif de la vallée de Sixt' (1821, pp. 75, 81, 85-6). 'Cette bonne femme met un vrai plaisir à recevoir les étrangers qui vont dans cette vallée, et cette auberge est la seule qui puisse leur offrir quelques commodités, et surtout de bons lits. On est

bien à la Couronne d'or, que l'on voit à gauche en entrant dans le village; il est à regretter que les lits soient mauvais, car la cuisine y est bonne, et l'hôtesse très propre et très honnête' (p. 86). It would seem that Markham Sherwill's description refers to the latter inn, as he speaks of the ruins of the monastery as quite distinct from it. 'At Sixt there is a very tolerable auberge, where most delicious trout are to be obtained in great abundance, the waters of this valley not being too cold, as at Chamouny, to prevent a good supply.' This passage from a private letter of Sherwill's is given in the 1838 Murray (p. 289), and repeated in the 1842 and 1846 editions. In the 1851 edition (p. 335) we read, inserted in Sherwill's account, 'At Sixt the old convent has been fitted up as an *Inn* and *Boarding-house*, with accommodation for thirty persons. It is kept by William Rayer, and is good quarters for those who desire shooting. Chamois, grouse, and partridge are to be had.' (Then follows the bit about the trout, which survives till the 1879 edition.) In the 1854 edition (p. 346) the whole section is re-written, and the name of the inn, 'Hôtel du Fer à Cheval,' is added; and in that of 1856 (p. 303) Moccand is named as the landlord. In 1857 Moccand succeeded in acquiring the whole of the building, according to Mr. Wills ('The Eagle's Nest,' pp. 24-8, 57), who tells us much about active, kind-hearted Madame Moccand, and her wonderful maid, Marie, and her drunken husband, who was much in the way till his death in the winter of 1858, after which event 'Madame' had a better time, though apparently not for very long, as she is mentioned for the last time in the 1863 Murray (p. 405).

108 In 1688-89 one Sebastian Zay built the chapel (now known as the Rigi Klösterli) for the use of herdsmen, and committed it to the care of two Capuchin friars; an inn was soon built there, and by 1781 there were no fewer than three in existence, the White Horse, kept by Josef Anton Schrieber, being a little later that patronised by foreign visitors, who started thence at midnight to see the sunrise from the Kulm. The other was called the Ox (from 1822 the Sword). The 1793 Ebel (vol. ii. p. 139) says that the inns were very middling, the 1804

edition (vol. iv. p. 32) mentions the White Horse and Ox, while that of 1809 (vol. iv. p. 118) adds the Sun and the Crown. The Crown was the smallest and least conspicuous of the four inns, yet it was its landlord, Joseph Martin Bürgi, who in 1814 first started the idea of building a house on the Kulm. His resources, however, were too small to allow him to finish the building which he had begun, and so on May 24, 1815, he applied for aid to Heinrich Keller of Zürich, who in 1813 had published the first really accurate map of Switzerland. Keller had visited the Rigi in 1804, and had published his sketches in a book in 1807; and in 1814 he had pitched his tent on the Kulm. He took up the idea with enthusiasm, obtained the support of Ebel (the author of the famous guide), Escher (the constructor of the Linth canal), and others; and on June 5, 1815 (a fortnight before Waterloo was fought), an appeal for subscriptions for this end was issued, signed by the above-named men and two others. 349 persons responded, their contributions amounting to about 1,355 francs (present value), and a small hut, built for the accommodation of the workmen, was visited by many travellers the same summer. A fresh appeal on Jan. 2, 1816, brought in 2,100 francs (present value) from 338 subscribers, and this sum was employed in furnishing the house. On August 6, 1816, the landlord and three workmen passed the night in it for the first time. The first entries in the *Travellers' Book* date from August 16, being the names of three English travellers, W. Haggitt, Sir Henry and Colonel Lambert. It is not clear whether these three spent the night there; at any rate, on August 22, Sauerländer, the publisher of Aarau, with three friends and the wife of one of them, are the first travellers who are recorded to have slept there. In 1816 there were but six beds. Keller stayed from July 29 to August 18 on the Kulm, and that year published his *Panorama* from it, and in 1823 a pamphlet of 78 pages, '*Beschreibung des Rigibergs.*' (He died in 1862, having visited the mountain thirty-two times.) This little inn met with great success, and fresh money contributions to keep it up and improve it flowed in to the same committee as before. In 1816 there were 294 visitors (112 English); in

1817, 664 (128 English); in 1818, 835 (128 English); and in 1819, 1,086 (168 English). Hence it had to be enlarged in 1830 (25 beds). Martin Bürgi, the original landlord and originator of the whole scheme, died on June 20, 1833. His son succeeded him, and repaid the money advanced to the committee. (It now forms a fund administered by the Natural History Society of Zürich.) The 1835 Traveller's Guide mentions the new inn (p. 357), which afforded 'good accommodation,' though at higher prices than in the plains, and alludes to the inconveniences of overcrowding. (The 1818 edition does not seem to mention this inn at all.) The 1838 Murray (p. 49) thus describes the inn: 'The Culm Haus, an inn somewhat resembling a barrack, containing more than forty beds, in rooms not unlike cabins, and affording very tolerable accommodation, considering the height, which exceeds that of the most elevated mountain in Britain.' A very vivid account of the bustle and overcrowding at night, and of the noise in the early morning, is given; the scaffolding before the inn, and the suggestive prohibition against taking the blankets off the beds to be used as wrappers when the sunrise is to be watched, are mentioned amongst other familiar features. In 1848 a new house was built to accommodate 100 to 130 persons, in 1856-57 another for 150 to 200. The building of the railways (1869-73 and 1873-75) enormously increased the number of visitors. In 1873 the younger Bürgi sold his business to a company, which failed in 1875, after the building of a hotel for 200 to 300 guests by the brothers Schreiber, who in 1879 finally purchased the whole concern from the mortgagees. I take these details from a most interesting pamphlet (including many extracts from the old Travellers' Books, &c.) entitled '*Aus den Fremdenbüchern von Rigi-Kulm*,' by W. H. Vormann (Bern, 1883). It is a most complete history of the development of a mountain inn in Switzerland—and that one of the earliest built expressly for tourists not being invalids—and contains woodcuts of the house as it was in 1815, 1816, 1830, 1848, 1856, and 1875. The success of the Kulm inn led to the construction of other hôtels on other parts of the mountain. In 1824 the Rigi-Kaltbad (rebuilt 1849



after a fire), in 1837 the Rigi Scheidegg, and at a date not certainly ascertained ('recently erected,' says the Traveller's Guide of 1835, p. 357; the 1838 Murray, p. 48, calls it 'a humble inn, to which travellers are sometimes driven for a night's lodging by the crowded state of the inn on the summit'), the Rigi Staffel inns were built. Herr Peyer, from whom I take these last dates, says (p. 191) that all the inns on the Rigi can now accommodate 2,000 guests a night.

109 It was built by a man named Roux, and was enlarged in 1858 (Durier, 'Le Mont Blanc,' 2nd edition, p. 300, n.).

110 In 1822-23 Samuel Blatter, the landlord of the Adler at Grindelwald, built a hut on the Faulhorn (Ober, 'L'Oberland Bernois,' vol. ii. p. 329, though the 1823 Ebel (p. 237) does not speak of it), which in 1831-32 was reconstructed. The new house consisted of three stories, the uppermost being devoted to the dining-room and salon, the two others containing ten small rooms for travellers. A full account of the inn and mountain generally is given in Pfarrer Schweizer's 56-page book, 'Das Faulhorn in Grindelwald' (1832), which accompanies Schmid's Panorama from the summit (the latter replacing an earlier one of 1811, a revised edition in Wyss's Hand Atlas of 1816). Throughout the book a contrast is drawn between the Rigi inn built by public subscription, and the Faulhorn inn, built by a local inn-keeper, while great stress is laid on the fact that the latter was then the highest inhabited dwelling in Europe, higher even than the Great St. Bernard hospice. My copy of the book was, according to an inscription in it, presented to my grandmother, Mrs. Brevoort, on the occasion of her ascent on August 7, 1835. The 1838 Murray gives (p. 79) the following not very enthusiastic account of the inn: 'The inn on the summit, which is only tenanted for four months of the year, and is totally abandoned to the wind and rain in October, affords three very tolerable apartments, and one or two lofts; still it is but sorry sleeping accommodation, the *désagréments* of which are hardly compensated to ladies by the *uncertain* beauty of the early view of the glaciers: for gentlemen the quarters are good enough. . . . The larder of mine host is said to be better than heretofore; but

everything is of course very dear.' The first edition of Bädeler (1844 p. 164) says that there were only twenty-four beds, and that in the height of the season a traveller could not secure a bed to himself. As a curiosity, it may be noted that the first winter ascent of the mountain by a traveller was made on January 23, 1832, by Hugi (G. Studer, 'Das Panorama von Bern,' p. 58).

111 There was no inn at Saas as late as 1825, for in that year Brockedon tells (p. 242) us how his guide took him to the Pfarrer, who was at first inclined to refuse to entertain him, but ultimately did so. There was one in 1833 kept by Moritz Zurbrücken, who also acted as guide (Marc Viridet, 'Passage du Rothhorn,' pp. 8-9). This inn sheltered all the earlier visitors to Saas, and its landlord is very highly spoken of by Engelhardt and others. In 1850 the increasing number of tourists induced another Zurbrücken, a notary, to build a rival inn, the Monte Rosa, the old house now being called the Hôtel Monte Moro, in lieu of the Sun (Engelhardt, 'Das Monte-Rosa- und Matterhorn-Gebirg,' p. 125).

The 1852 Murray (p. 278) says: 'Zur Sonne, very good and homely; excellent vin d'Asti; kept by a civil and honest fellow, Moritz Zurbrücken, one of the best guides in the valley.—H. du Mont Rose.' The new inn really belonged to the curé, the well-known Pfarrer Imseng, and was finally amalgamated with Zurbrücken's. Mr. Wills ('Wanderings,' pp. 117-19) gives an account of the state of things in 1852 and 1854. In 1856 we hear of a new inn being built (see 'A Lady's Tour round Monte Rosa,' p. 94; and Murray, 1856, p. 299), and in 1858 it is open and has taken the name H. Monte Moro (Murray, 1858, p. 293; 'Alpine Byways,' pp. 204, 209-10). It soon forced its rival to close its doors, and has ever since continued to be the principal, often the only, inn at Saas, though the Monte Rosa was opened by fits and starts.

112 Though this celebrated point of view above Solothurn (Soleure) was well known for many years before, and the panorama published by Keller in 1817, the only accommodation on the summit was a shepherd's hut, until 1826, when an inn (containing thirty bedrooms, accommodating fifty persons) was built

by the city of Solothurn at a cost of about 30,000 francs (present value) and leased to Herr Brunner, the landlord of the Krone at Solothurn (*'Gemälde der Schweiz,'* Solothurn volume, pp. 29-31). The 1838 Murray (p. 11) says: 'It furnishes about thirty beds, and the accommodation, though homely, is good.'

113 The first mention of an inn here that I have come across is in Mr. L. Agassiz's account of his visit to the col in 1829 (p. 244). He speaks of 'a house built for the accommodation of travellers on the summit,' and describes his experiences thus: 'At this chalet I breakfasted, and though it has a miserable appearance, found in it good coffee, fresh eggs, excellent milk, honey, and butter; and there are two tolerable beds to be had if necessary. My host was a chamois hunter, and he had a good collection of crystals and minerals, as well as seeds and dried specimens of the flowers of all the Alpine plants.' This shows that it must have been established some time already. The 1829 *'Itinéraire du Voyageur à Chamouny'* (p. 71 of the German edition) says that it was pretty good but dear. The 1838 Murray (p. 302) says: 'There is a house of refuge on the Col de Balme, where shelter and refreshment, with excellent wine may be had, and five or six tolerable beds are ready to receive travellers overtaken by a storm.' Desor, in the same year, speaks (p. 55) of excellent Asti wine but bad beds.

114 The mineral spring was known in Scheuchzer's time, but the bathhouse does not seem to have been built till 1830 (*'Gemälde der Schweiz,'* Glarus volume, p. 653). The 1838 Murray (p. 183) speaks of it as a 'handsome hotel and bathing establishment.'

115 As early as 1539 the famous Paracelsus celebrated the mineral spring here in prose, while Malachrida wrote a sonnet on it in 1650. But its fame gradually decayed, and by 1811 the arrangements for the guests were extremely primitive (Peyer, p. 222). In 1832 a company leased the spring for twenty years and built a bathhouse, besides which there were three inns—the Rössli, the Adler, and the Löwe. The number of guests rapidly increased, so that in 1856 a new bathhouse was built, replaced in 1866 by a still larger one. Since 1856 the spot has

been largely frequented (Caviezel, 'Das Oberengadin,' 5th edition, p. 110).

The 1838 Murray (p. 199) says that in the three inns (apart from the bathing establishment)—the Obere, Mittlere and Untere-Gasthöfe—'the accommodation is of the homeliest kind, the Obere being the best.' Later we find that the latter inn was built in 1824 by Peter Faller (1843 Ebel, p. 438), and later kept by M. Badrutt (1856 Murray, p. 235). By 1864 (Ball, p. 388) it had taken its present name of Engadiner Kulm. Herr Caviezel says this inn is said to have lodged only twenty-two guests in 1843, and sixty-eight in 1853 (five being English).

116 The first inn was built by Kehrli (a schoolmaster of Brienz, and owner of the falls), who from 1818 onward had improved the paths near the falls, obtaining some help from the Government. The illumination of the falls began in 1846. On Kehrli's death the establishment passed through different hands (being enlarged now and then), till it was purchased in 1870 by the brothers Hauser, who built in 1872 a large hôtel, which has been rebuilt since it was burnt in 1883. The funicular railway was constructed in 1883 (Peyer, pp. 195-96). Murray, from his first edition (1838) onwards, describes the Giessbach, and mentions Kehrli, who with his grandchildren were 'the best choristers of native airs in Switzerland,' but makes no mention of an inn till 1858 (p. 86).

117 Pfarrer Strasser of Grindelwald has kindly ascertained for me that this inn was built in 1834 and opened in 1835. It was built by a Baselland man named Heinrich Bürgi-Fuck, and originally accommodated about thirty persons. It was enlarged in 1841-42, and once more in 1887-88, so that with the dépendances it can lodge 100 visitors. The 1838 Murray (p. 81) speaks of it as 'a new inn, on a very extensive scale, situated directly under the road leading to the Scheideck, beneath a hanging wood and in grounds that remind one of an English park. Though provided with hot and cold baths it is less resorted to by invalids than by passing travellers. It is a good house, not dear.'

118 Most of the early visitors to the Visp valleys passed

through Stalden in haste, in order to reach their destination. Engelhardt tells us that in 1835 he obtained such sour wine at the big old inn opposite the fountain, that next year on his way up from Visp he sat on the 'place' and purchased some milk from a woman. On his way down from Saas that year his guides took him to the house (practically an inn also) of the former castellan or châtelain, where the bilberry wine was good, and it was even better in 1837, when he made the acquaintance of the vice-castellan, who provided good beds in clean rooms in his house for *bonâ-fide* travellers. In 1838 and 1839, too, his experiences were equally favourable ('*Naturschilderungen*,' pp. 149-50). In 1838, M. Desor found comfortable lodgings at the house of the châtelain, 'un honnête paysan, parlant l'allemand avec assez de pureté'; he had a good 'minestra' and an omelette for supper, while the beds were very clean. His host took a great interest in the party when he learnt that they were from Neuchâtel, for the Upper and Lower Valais were then engaged in very violent disputes, and while awaiting the decision of the Federal Diet on the whole question, the Haut Valais men were preparing to defend by arms their rights, which had been infringed. 'Or Neuchâtel était, aux yeux de notre châtelain, le seul Canton qui eût compris la justice de la cause des Hauts-Valaisans; aussi regardait-il comme un insigne honneur de nous héberger. Il nous offrit son cheval pour soulager les plus fatigués; et son admiration fut au comble lorsque nous lui apprîmes que le monsieur qui allait faire usage de sa monture était l'un des membres de la Diète neuchâteloise. Il eût été cruel d'ajouter que c'était un membre de l'opposition!' ('*Excursions et Séjours dans les Glaciers*.' First series, pp. 62-63, 116-47). The 1838 Murray (p. 246) is probably referring to the châtelain when it says that 'there is a decent inn, where the traveller may find accommodation and rest, if the two hours yet necessary for reaching Visp in the Valais should add too much to his day's fatigue' (repeated in 1842, p. 265, and 1846, p. 284, and 1851, p. 277—the latter allowing one and a half instead of two hours). Engelhardt gives an account of the castellan's (his name, Berchtold, is now first

mentioned) old-fashioned house and furniture in 1849, and praises the good bilberry wine, mentioning that there is a new bedroom with two beds in the main building, while in another close by, in a dusky and pillared apartment, there are, according to the Italian fashion, several other beds.

By 1850 great improvements had been made, things in general modernised, the cookery was much better, and a young girl replaced the aged dame who before provided for travellers ('Das Monte-Rosa- und Matterhorn-Gebirg,' pp. 103-4). Our writer was very well satisfied in 1851 (*ibid.* p. 245). In the 1852 Murray (p. 279) it is described as 'a poor inn,' and in that of 1854 (p. 294) as 'bey Berchtold, small and clean,' the Bädeler of the same year (p. 254) marking Berchtold's inn with a star of recommendation, and describing it as clean and cheap. The 1856 Murray (p. 301) repeats 1854, and so does 1858 (p. 295) with the omission of any epithet, though 1861 (p. 339) and 1863 (p. 338) call it 'poor but clean and moderate.' In 1867 (p. 347) it has taken the name of Traube, and besides the usual epithets applied to it, its Muscat wine is reported to be good, a judgment confirmed by the 1871 Von Tschudi (p. 106). There is no change in the Murrays of 1872 (p. 367) or 1874 (p. 367). Ball (1875, p. 310) still describes it as 'humble quarters,' but by 1879 it was rebuilt, for so say the 1879 Murray (p. 357) and the 1880 Von Tschudi (p. 280). It probably soon after took the name of Hôtel Stalden, which we find in the 1883 Bädeler (English edition, p. 302), and which still exists as the representative of, possibly historically identical with, Berchtold's inn of the early days of travel in the Visp valleys.

119 The 1793 Ebel (vol. ii. p. 97) mentions a cheese chalet on the pass where the wearied traveller might rest, later editions from 1804 (vol. iii. p. 69) onwards adding that he might also refresh himself there, but I cannot find any allusion whatsoever to an inn until the first edition of Murray (1838). There (pp. 75, 77) we read of two chalets which furnish 'beds to strangers, who sometimes pass the night here to await the sunrise,' while it is further stated that 'within a few years a *chalet* has been erected on the very summit of the Wengern Alp, to

afford refreshment by day to passing travellers, and shelter by night to those who wish to enjoy the sunrise from hence. Both the fare and the beds are of a very humble description.'

The former is described in the 1842 (p. 79) edition as a 'rustic, but very tolerable Inn, *H. de la Jungfrau*, containing fourteen beds, to accommodate strangers who choose to await the sunrise at this elevation,' a description which is repeated again and again without any alteration (save the substitution of twenty for fourteen in the 1854 edition, and the omission of 'rustic' in the 1867 edition, p. 86), till the 1874 (p. 85) edition, when it becomes 'a comfortable house, with excellent table d'hôte.' The latter was closed as early as 1841 (1842 Murray, p. 80), because (as the first Bädeler, 1844, p. 158, tells us) the host had gone off to the Brienzer Rothhorn inn. It was rebuilt and reopened in 1854 (see that year's Murray, p. 75, and Bädeler, p. 101), while in the 1858 edition (p. 79) it was said to be better than the other. Oddly enough, this delightful little inn, long kept by the Seilers of Bönigen, does not appear by the well-known name of Hôtel Bellevue till the 1859 Joanne (p. 545), Murray apparently not mentioning this name till 1867 (p. 87).

120 Murray (1838, p. 80) thus describes it: 'On the top of the Scheideck (6,711 feet above the sea level) stands a chalet, weather-tight, affording one or two beds for such travellers as are driven to sleep here; and a cup of coffee or hot milk for those who desire to warm themselves after their cold morning's ride over the mountains.' The 1843 Ebel (p. 549) calls it 'a fair inn' (ein ordentliches Wirthshaus), while the 1844 Bädeler (p. 168) says that it is to be recommended for breakfast when one has come up from Grindelwald fasting early in the morning, that meat may be obtained there, and also some beds in case of need.

121 All the early travellers and guide-books (except the 1798 Ebel, vol. ii. p. 78) only mention a cheese chalet here. In the 1838 Murray (p. 84) it is thus described: 'It can furnish a bed upon an emergency, and refreshments only of a very humble kind, such as milk, cheese, kirsch-wasser, and spirit of gentian,' the latter phrase being worded in the 1842 edition (p. 89), 'and

tolerable provisions, good coffee, &c.' G. Studer spent a night and day there in August 1841, and speaks of the stream of passing-travellers from all countries ('Topographische Mittheilungen,' p. 91). The 1844 Bädeler (p. 181) says that refreshments of various kinds are to be had there, and in case of need a bed; a description nearly verbally identical with those of Murray and of the 1843 Ebel (p. 333). The inn was carried away by an avalanche in the spring of 1889, but will doubtless be soon rebuilt.

122 The 1838 Murray (p. 89) describes the inn as 'a very rustic cabaret, affording refreshment of some kind, and a bed upon an emergency. N.B.—Its character as a house of entertainment is said to have improved of late.' This last remark seems to show that it existed some time before 1838, but neither the 1830 Richard (p. 235) nor the 1835 Traveller's Guide (pp. 220, 369–70) make any mention of it. The 1842 Murray gives a much improved account (p. 95), 'a rustic Inn, affording very fair accommodation both for eating and sleeping, good provisions and clean beds,' though in 1846 (p. 99) the traveller is warned to be on his guard against extortion. The 1843 Ebel (p. 509) simply mentions it as a small inn, but gives it the now well-known name of Im Gletsch. The 1844 Bädeler (p. 185) describes it as a very modest inn with about twelve beds, where a fair breakfast or dinner may be procured.

123 The 1838 Murray (p. 303) says that here 'a tolerably convenient place for sleeping has, within a few years, been erected, and this is the best place to rest at, when a succeeding long day's journey is determined on.'

124 In the Murray of 1838 (p. 247) the parish priest's house is mentioned as the only refuge for travellers; but in that of 1842 (pp. 266, 269) mention is also made of 'a good little inn, comfortable in itself, and kept by civil people,' which is also described as 'a decent little mountain inn.' This was Dr. Lauber's little hôtel opened in 1839. See following paper, p. 282.

125 The 1842 Murray (p. 87) says that 'on the top a chalet has been lately (1840) built, which affords better accommodation than the Faulhorn—a dinner and even a bed in toler-



able comfort;' and G. Studer ('Das Panorama von Bern,' p. 14) dates it as '? 1838,' adding that it was abandoned by 1846 and burnt on November 19 of that year. The 1843 Ebel (p. 174) says that it was a good inn, while the 1844 Bädeler (p. 176) is of opinion that the view is but little inferior to that of the Faulhorn, while the inn is good, better than that on the Grindelwald mountain, and just as much frequented. There was much talk of rebuilding the inn, but this does not seem to have taken place for many years. Von Tschudi ('Nord- und West-Schweiz,' p. 106) speaks of a good inn as existing by 1870, and the 1872 Murray (p. 96) calls it 'a good mountain *Inn*, with moderate charges.' This second inn does not seem, however, to have been so much frequented as was the first, for by 1875 it was closed (Von Tschudi's 'Turist,' 1880 edition, p. 96), and in 1885, like its predecessor, it was burnt down (Von Tschudi's 1886 'Turist,' p. 96).

126 Herr G. Studer ('Topographische Mittheilungen,' p. 82, slept there on the night of August 6-7, 1841, before making the first ascent of the Sustenhorn. It is just mentioned by the 1843 Ebel (p. 609) though not by the 1844 Bädeler (p. 206), while Murray does not speak of it till the 1846 edition (p. 103), where it is described as 'a very comfortable chalet serving as an *Inn*,' which in the 1852 edition (p. 98) falls to 'a chalet at the foot of the Stein glacier serves as a tolerable *Inn*,' but rises again in the 1854 edition (p. 99) to 'a clean little *Inn*, the only good halting-place.' The 1854 Bädeler (p. 130) also says that the good Stein inn is a welcome sight in the wilderness to the traveller descending from the Susten Pass.

127 Very possibly this was the inn veiled under the mention made by Mr. A. T. Malkin in the 1842 Murray (p. 92), of 'decent accommodation at Viesch' on occasion of the first known travellers' ascent of the Eggishorn, made by his party on August 26, 1840. Ebel in 1843 (p. 668) mentions it by name, 'Zum Vieschergletscher,' while the 1844 Bädeler (p. 194) adds that it is good and is kept by Nellen. The 1851 Murray (p. 91) describes it as 'a capital country *Inn*, chez Nellen,' altering the last words in the 1854 edition (p. 92) to 'H. du Glacier.'

the Bädeler of the same year (p. 122) marking it with a star of recommendation, and noting that it was kept by Jost.

128 I have found no mention of this favourite stopping-place earlier than in the following passage from the 1846 Murray (p. 126): 'At Comballe there is a most picturesque and comfortable little inn, much frequented in summer by the inhabitants of the valleys, for the benefit of the pure mountain air, and a sulphureous mineral spring of great celebrity which takes its source here.'

129 Oddly enough, this inn is first mentioned (at least as far as I have observed) by Dr. John Forbes in 1848 ('A Physician's Holiday,' p. 320). Mr. W. Mathews, in 1854, mentions the "La Cantine de Prou," the little inn where the char road from Martigny comes to an end, and its 'chasseur landlord, André Dorsaz' ('Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers,' first series, p. 78), and it is probably because of information given by Mr. Mathews that the 1856 Murray mentions it (p. 321).

130 The early visitors to Zermatt were received on their way up or down the valley by the curé at St. Niklaus. De Saussure in 1789 (vol. iv. p. 383) does not tell us where he dined in the village, but the first English party which came in 1800 to these parts say expressly ('Alpine Journal,' vol. vii. p. 436): 'Next day they found St. Nicholas in ruins; the only house where they could get anything to eat was the curé's, who supplied them with bread and cheese, weighing the cheese before and after the meal and charging for the difference. He produced an old atlas, and asked them to point out their country on the map, and then observed with gravity they were the first Englishmen he had ever seen.'

The early Ebels—whether the original or the French and English adaptations—say nothing as to the accommodation at St. Niklaus. In 1825 Brockedon (p. 236) obtained some refreshment at the curé's house, and borrowed his mule. In 1835 Engelhardt, making his first visit to this valley, stopped to dine at the curé, Herr Schulzki's, and was delighted to find that in a previous year the curé had taken the best of care of a Strasburg tourist who had been taken ill there. This roused Engel-

hardt's interest, for he too was a Strasburger, and this was the beginning of a long and intimate friendship with Herr Schulzki, whose house he visited again and again (1836, 1837, 1838, and 1839), and of whose hospitality he speaks in the most enthusiastic terms ('*Naturschilderungen*,' pp. 155-56). The 1838 Murray (p. 247) confirms this estimate: 'The house of the curé is usually resorted to by strangers, and his hospitality never fails,' though Engelhardt tells us that from 1838 Herr Schulzki did not often receive strangers, in consequence of his weak health, his curate, however, taking his place in this respect. The 1842 (p. 266), 1846 (p. 284), 1851 (p. 278), Murveys repeat the formula of 1838. In 1841 and 1848 Engelhardt again stayed with the good curé ('*Das Monte-Rosa- und Matterhorn-Gebirg*,' pp. 35, 70). The 1843 Ebel (p. 459) mentions a fair inn, but adds that *bonâ-fide* tourists are also received by the curé, and on August 10, 1848, Professor Ulrich and his companions, coming from Saas over the Ried Pass, slept there ('*Berg- und Gletscher-Fahrten*,' 2nd series, p. 129). Dr. John Forbes dined at the curé's on August 29 of the same year, Engelhardt coming up to sleep there that very night, and as the worthy curé died soon after (Engelhardt, p. 103), I may give some extracts from Dr. Forbes's account ('*A Physician's Holiday*,' pp. 225-27), which shows us that Herr Schulzki was as hospitable and kindly to strangers as his brother curé, Herr Gottsponer of Zermatt, had been till his death in 1847. Dr. Forbes was served by the curé himself. 'The good father, dressed as he was in his long priestly coat, set about providing all we wanted with his own hands—laying the tablecloth and dishes, grinding the coffee, and, in a word, performing all the duties belonging to the offices of cook and footman. He said his man-servant was away engaged at his farm work; but it was evident that his services could be well dispensed with, as an excellent breakfast of coffee, milk, eggs, butter, honey, cheese, preserved plums, &c., was provided and nearly finished before the man made his appearance. We were, of course, reluctant to be thus waited on by a person of our host's profession, and made many apologies; but the good man soon convinced us that they were unnecessary, by the unaffected readiness and

simplicity with which he served us. He seemed to act as if his present proceedings were a necessary consequence of his social position in this locality; yet in doing what he seemed to feel to be his duty he betrayed not the slightest evidence that the duty was not perfectly agreeable to him; nay, more, it seemed to me that, while he was performing all the functions of a servant, he still preserved the bearing of a gentleman. There was no symptom either of real pride affecting humility from vanity, or of a real subserviency originating in a base nature and practised for selfish ends. Everything with our good host seemed natural, simple, and true. Without pretending to believe that he was acting from religious motives, I confess that in contemplating his proceedings, from first to last, I could not help reverting mentally to that equality of the human brotherhood, which was both professed and practised by the founders of the religion of which he was a member. When the time for our departure came, [after a two hours' stay,] not knowing exactly how I should remunerate our host for the expenditure of his goods, I emptied my purse in my hand, and begged he would oblige me by taking what he pleased. Without the slightest coyness or hesitation, he at once turned over the various pieces, and, selecting three French francs from among them, gave me to understand that this was to be the payment. This sum being less than we should have paid at a common inn, I remonstrated, and pressed him to take more. I urged him to accept merely a five-franc piece if he would take no more, but he steadily refused. I then begged he would allow me to give him something for the poor or sick of his flock; he assented, and betaking himself once more to the chaos of Swiss money in my hand, after some search he picked out the smallest piece of silver money he could find, which seemed to be half a franc; and I could not prevail on him to take anything more. This conduct of our host, and all that had preceded this, excited more than usual interest, and I entered more fully into conversation with the honest priest. Being struck with his bad German and worse French, I asked after his nativities, and learnt that he was a foreigner like myself in these regions, one of the exiled

sons of Poland, Johann Sczulski by name. He had wandered from his country when quite a boy, and had spent nearly all his life since in Switzerland. He was formerly curé of the parish of Randa, further up the valley, and had been twenty years in his present parish. . . . He has a large house, with a good many beds scattered about it for the accommodation of travellers as well as of friends.' Dr. Forbes saw the curé again on August 31, on his way down the valley (pp. 255-56). 'We reached the hospitable mansion of our good Johann Sczulski of St. Nicolas about eleven o'clock, and again had the benefit of his friendly ministrations at our plentiful and luxurious breakfast. On this occasion we met like old friends, and what with German and what with Latin, I contrived to obtain much interesting information from the worthy and kind-hearted pastor. It was on this occasion he gave me the minuter details of the fall of the avalanche at Randa [in 1819] already noticed, of which he had prepared at my request a short account in Latin. I found his narrative quite in accordance with the information I had obtained at the village of Randa from an old man who had also witnessed the fall. In taking leave of the good priest, which I did not do without very friendly feelings, I could not prevail upon him to accept more than a five-franc piece for all the trouble we had put him to, and for the free expenditure of his worldly substance on five hungry men—for the guides were his guests as well as we. In final reply to my offers of service to himself, if ever an opportunity should occur, the good man, showing the same kindly nature as in everything else, recommended to my sympathy any of his unhappy countrymen who might cross my path in their exile. And so we took our leave of St. Nicolas and its simple-minded and gentle priest.' He was buried before the altar which he had so long served, and his grave was visited in 1849 by his old friend Engelhardt ('Das Monte-Rosa- und Matterhorn-Gebirg,' p. 103), who was now compelled to take up his quarters in the inn of Anton Kalbermatten (*ibid.* p. 104), where there were then two fair bedrooms for four to six people in all, while the accommodation in general was good, and the prices moderate. A

second very convenient inn was about to be built, while the same writer ('Das M. Rosa,' p. 126) says that in 1849 there were no fewer than three rival inns. The year 1849 therefore may be taken as marking the change at St. Niklaus, from the primitive times when the curé received foreign travellers, to the more modern plan of a regular inn. In 1851 Engelhardt again went to Kalbermatten's inn, which he says had long existed, and was well received there, finding a good table and clean beds. He adds that the competition due to the building by the President of the Commune (Herr Bühner) of a new inn, the Stern, just opposite, will do much to secure travellers good accommodation at St. Niklaus, which is a very convenient halting-place ('Das M. Rosa,' p. 229). The 1851 Murray resembles its predecessors in mentioning the curé only, but my copy of that edition has been carefully revised for the next edition, and contains a MS. note to the effect that there is a small inn where a tolerable luncheon may be had. But this appears in rather a different shape in the published 1852 edition (p. 280), where we read first the usual phrase about the curé, with this addition, 'but there is a small Inn (Sterne) kept by civil people.' By 1854 things seem to have much improved, for Murray (p. 294) says: 'St. Nicholas. Inns: Sonne, new and good; Kreutz, tolerable; a good place for a halt, and even for night quarters when the Zermatt inns are full.' The Bädeler of the same year mentions the Kreuz only, without any remark as to its merits. These two inns were for many years the usual halting-place for Zermatt visitors, and the Murray of 1867 (p. 347) tells us that they were then under one management. They were superseded by a big new inn—the Grand Hôtel de S. Nicolas—which existed as early as September 1870, when I visited it, but which was probably then new, as the 1871 Von Tschudi ('Ur- und Süd-Schweiz,' p. 106) does not mention it. It duly appears in the 1872 Murray (p. 367), and is there said to be a new and first-rate house, and to contain fifty-six beds.

131 The 1838 Murray (p. 295) mentions that shelter in bad weather and refreshments were to be had here: but it is not till the 1851 edition (p. 330) that we read: 'It has been

enlarged and even contains a bed or two,' the 1854 Bädeler (p. 213) specifying the number of beds at three.

132 The 1838 Murray (p. 300) mentions a house where a glass of schnaps and shelter in bad weather might be had: in the 1842 edition (p. 328) this is called the *Hôtel de la Couronne*, and said to be 'the usual halting-place between Chamouni and Martigny.' Things were better in 1851 (p. 337), for it is called a 'homely inn,' where good refreshments and wine were to be procured. It was rebuilt in 1851 (1852, p. 343), and in the 1854 edition (p. 348) bears the name of '*Hôtel de la Tête Noire*,' and the character of 'fair and tolerable.' The 1844 Bädeler (p. 355) even calls the old house '*Hôtel de la Tête Noire*,' describing it as a small inn where bread, wine, cheese and eggs were to be had; but the edition of 1854 (p. 219) says that a new house of the same name was built in 1851, and that the landlord was a man from Baden.

133 See 1854 Bädeler, p. 120. Highly recommended in 1853. 'Good inn, comfortably furnished, with twenty-five beds' (1854 Murray, p. 95).

134 The few travellers who found their way to Engelberg in former days were entertained by the monks of the great Benedictine monastery (founded about 1120)—so Coxe in 1785 (1801 edition, vol. i. pp. 315-16). In 1852 and 1854 Herr C. Cattani published pamphlets calling attention to the place, and the advantages it offered for the milk and air cure. His efforts were so successful that the 1854 Bädeler (p. 128) says that his inn, the Engel (originally meant for the pilgrims), was often overcrowded by strangers, the *pension* price (without wine) being only 3 francs 50 cents a day. The early guide-books—Ebel, Richard, Traveller's Guide—mention a single inn in the village, not giving its name, but adding that travellers were hospitably received in the monastery. The 1838 Murray (p. 90) mentions the Engel and the Rössli, the former from the 1842 edition (p. 96) onwards being characterised as 'good and clean,' the latter having no distinguishing epithet. Berlepsch (1862, p. 278) mentions Müller's and Cattani's inns, but it is only in the 1863 Murray (p. 107) that the former is mentioned

('good, clean and moderate'), besides the Engel, while in the 1867 edition (p. 108) it is stated that the Engel was very good, and that there was also the Titlis, as to which no details are given. As is well-known, the Titlis and Engel are now united in the hands of Cattani, and the H. Müller still goes on, while the H. Sonnenberg, above the village, is mentioned by the 1873 Ball (p. 174) as being 'new' at that time. We may take 1854 as the date at which Engelberg began to be frequented by travellers, as distinct from pilgrims.

135 When De Saussure visited Macugnaga in 1789 (vol. iv. p. 341), he was received by one Anton Maria del Prato, the principal innkeeper, after intervention by the curé, for the arrival of strangers had alarmed all the inhabitants. 'Cette auberge fut pendant onze jours le centre de nos excursions; nous étions proprement logés, mais nous n'avions d'autres vivres que ceux que nous faisions venir de Vanzon; car les habitants de Macugnaga et le curé même ne se nourrissent que de laitage et de pain de seigle que l'on fait six mois ou un an à l'avance, et qu'on ne peut couper qu'avec la hache.' He appends a note to this effect: 'M. del Prato m'a prié d'avertir les voyageurs qui penseroient à venir à Macugnaga, de lui écrire un mot à l'avance pour qu'il puisse faire des provisions et se disposer à les recevoir.' The 1793 Ebel does not seem to mention the place at all, that of 1804 (vol. ii. p. 57) echoes De Saussure's remarks, and that of 1809 (vol. ii. p. 101) refers travellers to the curé or to Del Prato. In the 1818 French edition (vol. ii. p. 72), besides the curé and his deputy, one Bartolomeo Vedoa is mentioned as the innkeeper, and his house was possibly the dirty inn in which Herr Hirzel-Escher (p. 33) lunched in 1822. In 1825 the inn was 'tolerable,' according to Brockedon (p. 251), who describes the landlord (without giving his name, which was Verra) as 'a deformed, but very civil host, who spoke French well, having, as I learnt, spent some time at Lyons as cuisinier,' and as 'my civil little *Æsop*.' It was in that year that the 'Travellers' Book' was begun at the inn, the names being almost all English (Schott, 'Die Deutschen Colonien in Piemont,' p. 53). The landlord's real name was Gaspard Verra or Vera, and he received the



few earlier visitors to his valley, *e.g.*, Engelhardt (1835, 'Natur-schilderungen' pp. 303, 311-12), Schott (1841), Forbes (1843, p. 343-44). He was deformed (in consequence of a fever) as well as blind, or very nearly so, had been a confectioner at Lyons, spoke Italian, German and French, and is generally mentioned favourably by his guests. Here is Professor Forbes's account: 'For a while I could not get access to the inn, until the landlord, a decrepit, hunchbacked, and blind man, though still below middle age, made his appearance from labouring in the hayfield, and by his pleasing manner, and his attention soon gained my interest, and made me well satisfied with what his house afforded, which, indeed, was more than average comfort, considering the remoteness of the spot. There was a visitors' book, and I do not think that a dozen travellers of all countries had entered their names since the previous year. The landlord's name is Verra, and his wife is an obliging person.' Richard and Ebel all this time merely note the fact that there was an inn in the village; while the 1838 Murray (p. 243, followed by the 1842 and 1846 editions) practically reproduces Brockedon, laying special stress on the fleas and non-descript food, but not disapproving of the poor little landlord himself. In both the later editions (p. 273 and p. 292 respectively) Mr. A. T. Malkin describes his experience on August 11, 1840, at the Macugnaga inn thus: 'Worse quarters might be endured for the sake of Monte Rosa. The master, a poor deformed man, is very civil and attentive, has some notion of cooking, and professes to have four beds, of which I presume I got the worst, and he can get others.' The inn is described by the 1851 Murray (p. 274) as 'Gasthaus zum Monte Rosa, very tolerable and civil people,' which the 1852 Murray (p. 276) identifies as Verra's inn, &c. (as before). I have not been able to find out when he died—it was certainly before 1855 (King's 'Italian Valleys,' p. 454)—probably before 1854, for that year's Murray (p. 287) says: '*Inn*: Osteria di Vera, kept by Franz Lochmatter, who is a good guide over the Moro; beds with fleas, and sorry fare,' the 1854 Bäderker (p. 251) giving the same names for the inn and its landlord, but describing it more favourably as a

small German inn with clean beds, though somewhat scanty food. Thus by 1854 Verra had been succeeded as innkeeper of the village by Lochmatter.

Mr. King went up from Borca to visit Macugnaga, of which he remarks, 'the inn was then simply miserable' (p. 454). In 1856 Murray (p. 296) tells us that Lochmatter 'is building a new inn to be opened in 1856, and to contain twenty bedrooms. He and his wife are honest and industrious, and merit support.' Mr. Hinchliff thus describes the old inn in 1856 ('Summer Months,' p. 172): 'Though his house is a mere rough chalet, without even proper fastenings to the doors, he contrived to make us thoroughly comfortable by his watchful attendance to all our wishes.' The authoress of 'A Lady's Tour round Monte Rosa' (pp. 111-3) thus gives her impressions of the inn the same year: 'We were led into the *salle-à-manger*, which was an old-fashioned, low-roofed room of tolerable size, furnished with plain deal tables and benches instead of chairs. It contained a large stove which made it thoroughly warm, and the room, though humble, was not uncomfortable. Lochmatter's wife and sister attended to the guests, and were extremely civil, making the best of the scanty means at their disposal.' The other inn was then kept by an Italian, Dominica, and it was thither that, on a second visit in 1858, the same authoress went, finding it scarcely finished, but in every way better than Lochmatter's, except as regards the cookery (*ibid.* p. 195). It was called the Hôtel Monte Moro, and is mentioned in the 1858 Murray (p. 290) as the Hôtel du Glacier, and new in 1858. In 1860 Lochmatter was building a new house to be opened the next season ('Alpine Byways,' p. 212), but the Monte Moro seemed then to be the best. 'It was an agreeable surprise to find very comfortable clean rooms, a nice salon, and a most attentive host (Delmont Gaspard by name), whose good *cuisine* and anxiety to make his house comfortable deserve to be rewarded.' In 1861, Murray (p. 324) says that the Monte Moro was then kept by Gaspard, and that the quarters were fair, and the people civil: at Lochmatter's the people were rough but kindly. Later the Monte Moro passed into the hands of Oberto (so in the

1872 Murray), but the Monte Rosa has always remained with Lochmatter. The two are still rivals, the Moro being rather Italian, the other more German; but as Lochmatter's inn is one of the recognised stopping-places for climbers, I have taken the commencement of his reign—rather than that of his predecessor, poor Verra's—as the date at which to fix the appearance of the Macugnaga inn in my list of Alpine inns.

[For some years about 1850 the inn at Macugnaga seems to have fallen off, and travellers preferred 'a tidy and clean little inn'—*Osteria dei Cacciatori*—at Borca, rather lower down the valley. This was kept by the brothers Albasini, 'one a great hunter, the other no mean cook' (1852 Murray, p. 276). Mr. Wills thus describes the little inn in September 1852 ('Wanderings among the High Alps,' p. 98): 'It was then—I believe it has been modernized lately—a little, old-fashioned cottage, with a public room on one side of the doorway, and on the other an apartment which served the family, of three men and three or four women and a stray child or two, "for parlour and kitchen and all," and one or two bedrooms in the low, sloping thatched roof, to which you climbed by a sort of ladder. What became of the numerous family at night passed our skill to discover. Homely in the extreme, the place had yet an air of cheerfulness and comfort, which made us very glad to put up there for the night, and we were still better pleased to find the testimony in the travellers' book uniform and hearty as to the care, attention, and kindness of the host, the cleanliness of the beds, and the excellence of the *cuisine*. It turned out that "*I Cacciatori del Monte Rosa*" was kept by two brothers, one of whom was a crack hunter, and the other an accomplished cook—a most promising association.'

The 1854 Bädiker (p. 251) calls it unpretending and cheap. Mr. S. W. King ('Italian Valleys of the Pennine Alps,' pp. 430-31, 444, 454), gives a most fascinating account of his delightful stay of some days there in 1855, illustrating it by a sketch of the chalet inn. The 1856 Murray (p. 296) informs us that it made up six beds in two good sleeping-rooms. The authoress of '*A Lady's Tour round Monte Rosa*' (p. 192) says that in

1858: 'Borca is a favourite place for English travellers to stop at, and it may be as well to mention that although the house is a very small and old one, the landlord, Alessandro Albasini, is reputed to have excellent skill in cooking and to be a worthy and respectable man. He is also a renowned chamois hunter, and I have heard this inn highly spoken of by persons who have remained there several days.' The 1858 edition of Murray (p. 290) still mentions it, as does also the 1859 Joanne (p. 419), but the 1861 Murray (p. 324) states that the brothers had removed themselves and the inn to Vanzone. And there the transferred inn still flourishes, under the name of Hôtel des Chasseurs.]

136 I can find no inn on this pass mentioned before the passing allusion in the 1854 Bädeler (p. 336). Mr. Ball ('Central Alps,' p. 382) calls it an unattractive mountain inn, and the 1867 Murray (p. 272), on making the first mention of it, simply observes, '*Inn*. Poste, the first large house in the Engadine.' My own recollections of the old inn in 1867 are as unpleasant as those of other travellers. The magnificent new establishment was built about 1883.

137 I fix this date for the appearance of Pontresina in my list because it is in this year that I first find the mention of the Krone (in Bädeler, p. 320—'German people and very scanty arrangements'), which became later the rendezvous of climbers. Murray mentions the Adler only from the 1846 edition (p. 235)—none being mentioned before—to that of 1858 (p. 234); and then in his 1861 edition (p. 272) speaks of the Krone—'good, very fair living, noisy at night'—and the Weisses Kreuz, 'also good and reasonable' (p. 273). It was from Gredig's inn that Messrs. Hardy and E. S. Kennedy started for the Piz Bernina in July 1861 ('Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers,' second series, i. 151); but it was probably the choice of that inn, because of the glorious view of the Roseg valley from its windows, made on August 15, 1860, by the young son of the authoress (Mrs. Henry Freshfield) of '*A Summer Tour in the Grisons*' (pp. 71, 72, 136), that finally made the Krone *the* mountaineers' inn for many years.

138 This inn was built by three partners, one of whom was

Joseph Ruden, the curé of Zermatt, and was sold in 1862 to the commune of Zermatt. See my paper on Zermatt, pp. 306, 321.

139 For the history of the hut on the pass, see my paper on Zermatt, pp. 301, 306.

140 Bertolini's inn is not mentioned in the 1854 Murray (p. 304), or Bädeler (p. 225), but in 1855 Mr. S. W. King staid there ('Italian Valleys,' p. 32) finding 'welcome, excellent quarters,' and 'an active landlord,' and the 1856 Murray (p. 319) speaks of the Hôtel Royal, kept by Bertolini; 'clean, obliging landlord.'

141 The 1854 Murray (p. 282) mentions 'a very clean Inn kept by the family Luscos,' which Prof. Forbes well describes on the occasion of his visit in 1842 ('Travels in the Alps of Savoy,' pp. 326-27); though 'entertained less as guests at an inn than as at a private house, and we found that the charges bore a proportion to the favour thus conferred on us.' But the old man died in 1854, and the new tenant was reported to be churlish and inhospitable to strangers, and hence, in 1855, Mr. King and party were directed to the house of the Delapierres, which had been recently opened for the reception of travellers. This Mr. King found 'the most enjoyable resting-place we met with in Piedmont,' and made it his headquarters for a considerable time ('Italian Valleys,' pp. 261-62, 278-79, 298, 355). Mr. King sent the following note to the 1856 Murray (p. 290), 'Here is an inn kept by Chianale; also Pension Delapierre is highly praised, landlord most attentive, and an excellent guide.' The authoress of 'A Lady's Tour Round Monte Rosa' (pp. 305-6) visited the inn in 1858, and speaks in the highest terms of it. I believe that Delapierre's inn still flourishes, though there is now a rival, H. du Mont Rose kept by Linty, which is not mentioned by Mr. Ball in 1863 ('Western Alps,' p. 313), but is noticed in the 1867 Murray (p. 342) as a new inn and said to be highly spoken of.

142 The 1851 Murray (p. 282) tells us that there is 'no Inn, but the curé will receive strangers'; to which the 1852 edition (p. 286) adds, 'ladies as well as gentlemen: five or six francs is the usual douceur given for bed, supper, and breakfast';

but Mr. Wills ('Wanderings,' pp. 215-16) gives a most unenticing account of the quarters he found at the curé's house in Sept. 1852. This is probably the reason why the 1854 Murray (p. 299) adds to the 1852 account the emphatic words 'very bad accommodation,' and the Bädeler of the same year (p. 257) simply says that there is no inn. In 1855 Mr. King ('Italian Alps,' pp. 203-4, 216) 'found a small house had recently been fitted up there as an inn, with the title of the Hôtel du Mont Cervin': the beds 'were tolerably clean'; 'to give him his due, the owner was most anxious to do his best and make the most of his humble resources'; the wine was better than any got at Aosta. Mr. Hinchliff the same year found the inn 'dirty' ('Summer Months,' p. 153); while in 1856 Mr. W. Longman ('Six Weeks' Adventures,' p. 97) calls it a 'most miserable inn, the landlord of which has a very Italian bandit appearance,' adding, 'that the inn was too wretched to allow us to think of remaining there for the night.' The 1856 Murray (p. 309) calls it a 'rough inn,' still keeping in the bit about the curé; this bit is finally omitted in the 1858 edition (p. 203), which only says that 'there is now a rough Inn here,' while it was described in 1858 to the authoress of 'A Lady's Tour Round Monte Rosa' (p. 385) as 'a miserable "caserne," which nothing but dire necessity would induce one to enter.' In 1860 matters had much improved, for Mrs. H. Freshfield ('Alpine Byways,' p. 168), halting there for lunch, says: 'The village of Tournanche formerly offered nothing but a most miserable inn, known only to be avoided; but the landlord has become enlightened, and has recently greatly improved his house, in the hope of attracting some of the many travellers who now pass through the valley. We consequently found our provisions quite unnecessary, but the man was extremely obliging, and made no difficulties. The little salon was very tidy, and the bedrooms looked clean, although very roughly furnished. I must in honesty add, that we did hear afterwards that they were not free from discomforts which do not present themselves to a daylight view.' Yet the 1861 Murray (p. 349) describes it as 'very rough and not cheap,' but in the 1863 edition (p. 349), we read, 'H. du Monte Rosa, homely, but clean and cheap,' and

Mr. Ball in the same year ('Western Alps,' p. 307) says that it 'affords tolerable quarters, but very inferior to those at Breuil.' It had thus begun to improve, and still continues to be a homely but very pleasant little mountain hostelry.

143 The inn was only half built in the September of this year: see 'A Lady's Tour Round Monte Rosa' (pp. 64-66, 71-72) for some interesting notices of this well-known inn during its first year of existence. The 1858 Murray (p. 97) speaks of it as 'a very good inn.' Wellig had certainly retired from business by 1874, possibly a little before, in favour of Herr Cathrein.

144 The Hôtel du Mont Cervin at Giomein was this year built according to Gorret and Bich, 'Guide de la Vallée d'Aoste,' p. 338, cf. 'A Lady's Tour,' &c. (p. 379).

145 'We then commenced the descent, stopping at a chalet at Engstlen, which was in process of transformation into a hotel, and there making a more substantial repast' (W. Longman's 'Six Weeks' Adventures,' p. 68). 'A very comfortable little inn,' says the 1858 Murray (p. 103).

146 'A Lady's Tour Round Monte Rosa' (p. 98) speaks in September 1856 of 'the humble roof of the little inn. This had only been opened a few months before, and was not quite finished. The carpenter's chips were plentifully strewn over the threshold of the entrance. Our bedroom was small and uninviting, but a colony of active little tormentors had already established themselves there. We were, however, thankful for the shelter which the place afforded us. . . . The larder was not provided with abundant supplies, but the curé had sent on a few things by the porter. Poor as the place is, we contrived, after a scanty repast, to sleep there soundly.' 'A convenient inn' (Murray, 1858, p. 293).

147 This was the Hôtel de la Dent du Midi (A. de Claparède, 'La Val d'Illeiez,' p. 87); cf. 1856 Murray, p. 172.

148 1858 Murray, p. 311. For descriptions of Jean Tairraz's inn in its early days see, for 1858, 'A Lady's Tour,' p. 328, and for 1860 Mrs. H. Freshfield's 'Alpine Byways,' p. 121.

149 This was the Hôtel Silberhorn (Peyer, p. 197). The early narratives of excursions to Mürren are very curious. See

those of Wyss in 1814 (German edition pp. 439-54, French edition vol. ii. pp. 36-52 of the '*Voyage dans l'Oberland Bernois*'), of G. Studer in 1843 ('*Das Panorama von Bern*,' p. 127), and of Ober before 1850 ('*L'Oberland Bernois*,' vol. i. pp. 475-98); a night being spent there in a hayloft in each case. 'E. W.' first mentions the village in Murray (1846, p. 87) in an account of the Sefinen Furke, but the name is misprinted '*Dürren*,' a mistake which is not corrected till the edition of 1858 (pp. 76, 86), when it is said that refreshments may be had there; 'the good country inn H. du Silberhorn' is mentioned in the 1861 edition, p. 83. The Schilthorn was ascended on the Mürren side (descent into the Sausthal) by Herr Gottlieb Studer and two friends on August 8, 1843 ('*Das Panorama von Bern*,' pp. 126-30), but it first appears in the 1856 edition of Murray, p. 77. 'From Lauterbrunnen the Schilthorn may be ascended; the descent from this is down an apparent precipice,' though in the 1858 edition (p. 76) it is spoken of 'in connection with Mürren. The first full account in English of the place and of the peak is, as far as I know, that of a visit in 1859, described in chapter ii. of '*Alpine Byways*.'

150 Pfarrer Strasser of Grindelwald supplies me with this date and the information that it was built and the path up greatly improved by Jakob Weismüller, father of the present proprietors. Previously there was only a stone hut on the summit. The 1859 Joanne (p. 523) mentions the inn as having been some years in existence, while the 1861 Murray (p. 79) says it was two years old.

151 This inn was built in 1857 and opened in 1858, as I learn from the present owner, M. Gratien Brunod, who has supplied this information through the kindness of Signor S. Cainer of the Italian Alpine Club. The 1858 Murray (p. 355) says, 'An hotel is talked of (1857) on the Mont Fréty, on the Courmayeur side,' while the 1861 edition says (p. 366) that 'an Inn has now been built on the Mont Fréty.' The earliest clear mention of the inn in Alpine literature that I have come across is in Professor Tyndall's '*Hours of Exercise in the Alps*' (p. 19), from which it appears that the three English travellers who



perished on August 15, 1860 in an avalanche while descending the Italian side of the Col du Géant were endeavouring to reach the Mont Fréty inn.

152 The 1858 Murray (p. 208) says that an inn was being built, while the 1859 Joanne (p. 385) says that it was built in 1858. The 1861 Murray (p. 354) says, 'Hôtel de la Dent Blanche, very good.'

153 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers,' 1st series, p. 150 note, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 361 ('Alpine Journal,' vol. i. p. 205). The 1861 Murray (p. 352) speaks of the 'very tolerable Inn at Zinal (rough accommodation, good wine, civil people).'

154 This little inn was originally called Hôtel du Dom, and later, after being closed for several years (about 1868 or so; see 'Alpine Journal,' vol. iv. p. 239), took the name of Hôtel Weisshorn, by which it is now known.

155 I learn from Pfarrer Strasser of Grindelwald that the first house dates from about that time, and that the present one was built in 1871.

156 Mr. A. W. Moore writes that he passed the night of July 3, 1861 in the 'little inn at Gruben, which was in an unfinished state, and in my case opened its doors for the first time to receive a traveller' ('Alpine Journal,' vol. i. p. 204). See a later notice of this 'nice clean little inn' ('Alpine Journal,' vol. i. p. 94).

157 I cannot find any mention of this inn earlier than in Mr. Tuckett's account of the Col du Mont Tondou in Mr. Ball's 'Western Alps' (first edition, p. 204). For 1864 see 'Alpine Journal,' vol. ii. p. 292.

158 M. Durier ('Le Mont Blanc,' 2nd edition, p. 288) says that the inn was built at the same time that the mule path up to the spot was constructed, and that it was considerably enlarged in 1866 and 1873.

159 Pfarrer Strasser of Grindelwald informs me that the Hôtel Alpenrose was built in 1861-62 and opened in 1863. Up to that date a small inn was used which had been built in 1859, next to the chalet on the Alpigelte, about twenty minutes' walk below the present house.

160 This house existed as an inn in 1864 (see '*Das Hochgebirge von Grindelwald*,' by Aeby, Gerwer, and Von Fellenberg, pp. 58, 136). I certainly slept there on the night of September 12-13, 1865.

161 '*Alpine Journal*,' vol. vi. p. 342. The inn was burnt in 1880, but has been rebuilt.

162 The Pfarrer of Beatenberg, Herr R. E. Krähenbühl (elected 1855), did much to draw the attention of strangers to his parish. Through his exertions the carriage road thither, begun as long ago as 1851, was completed in 1865, and the first inn—*Hôtel des Alpes*—was opened about that time. The Kurhaus was built in 1875 (Peyer, pp. 197-98, and information from Pfarrer Strasser of Grindelwald). The place does not seem to be mentioned in Murray till the 1872 edition (p. 80).

163 Mr. A. W. Moore thus describes his experiences on July 8, 1865 ('*Alpine Journal*,' vol. v. p. 316): 'We reached Arolla, where we found one of the *châlets* in course of being transmogrified into an inn. The carpenters were still at work, and only one room, containing three beds, was in a finished state; but the accommodation was sufficient for our party, and as the beds had not been occupied before, we were free from the entomological annoyances for which the place has since [written in 1872] become rather notorious.' Mr. A. B. Hamilton gives a full account of the origin of this inn ('*Alpine Journal*,' vol. vi. p. 21): 'On this spot, a little over 6,000 feet above the sea, the landlord of the present inn built in 1865, a "*mayen*" or *châlet* for summer use only, to which he could retreat in the heat of August. Travellers arriving from the Col de Colon or some other glacier pass, and seeing a new *châlet*, insisted upon sleeping there, and consequently, in 1866, my friend summoned sufficient courage to try and convert his summer palace—though not quite on the same scale as that of the Chinese emperors—into a hotel. I can vouch for its having contained at least one comfortable bed, though I believe the complaints sometimes made of the further sleeping accommodation have not always been without foundation. The question has, however, only an historical interest, as the old inn will be superseded in the

course of the present summer [1872] by a new hotel of similar proportions to the one at Evolena.' See also 'Alpine Journal,' vol. v. p. 398.

164 Through the kindness of Signor S. Cainer of the Italian Alpine Club, I have procured the following particulars from Dr. Pasta. The inn was built in 1865-66, and was opened to the public in June 1867. It is mentioned in the 1867 Murray (p. 315). See, too, 'Bollettino del Club Alpino Italiano,' 1868, pp. 223-25.

165 See note 91, *ad finem*, p. 198.

166 Pfarrer Strasser of Grindelwald informs me that this was the date at which the beautifully situated little Hôtel Alpenrose was built.

167 Pfarrer Strasser also tells me that the Hôtel des Alpes was opened in 1868.

168 A hut was built on the summit by one Dorig in 1845, and his son built, in 1868, an inn there which has been frequently enlarged since then ('Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Oesterreichischen Alpenvereins,' vol. xix. p. 255). The hut is first mentioned (as an 'Inn') by the 1851 Murray (p. 195), and is spoken of in all the subsequent editions (except that of 1867) till 1872, when (p. 231) we hear of a chalet with three beds which in the 1879 edition (p. 223) is described as 'lately enlarged.' The 1888 Von Tschudi (p. 337) says it is 'good and cheap.'

169 Formerly the only inn at Davos am Platz was the Rathhaus or town hall itself, of which as lately as 1863, Murray (p. 277) says that 'in its primitive style these mountains perhaps do not afford a better,' and that 'it was formerly decorated with more than thirty wolves' heads slain in the neighbourhood.' Mrs. Henry Freshfield found in 1861 a newly-built inn, Kurhaus zum Strela, and lodged there, describing it as being nicely furnished, 'with six or seven bedrooms and a comfortable, though small, salon and ante-room.' It was kept by Herr Gnädig (or Gredig). This and other details relating to the time when the Davos valley was rarely visited by travellers may be found in chapters 15 and 16 of that lady's 'A Summer Tour in the Grisons.' According to Herr Peyer (p. 218) Bädeler in 1868

says that the place had lately become frequented by invalids. We learn from an interesting article on the place by J. Hauri (in Professor Osenbrüggen's '*Wanderstudien aus der Schweiz*,' 1881, vol. vi. p. 156) that the local doctor found that the climate was well suited for persons suffering from consumption, from which the natives were all but exempt, and that in 1865 a German doctor from Saxony, Dr. Unger, a sufferer from that disease, settled down there and regained his health. This laid the foundation of the fame of Davos, which is now probably the most frequented 'air cure' in Europe, if not in the world. The Rathhaus and Strela inns still exist, but there are also a great number of others, furnished with every comfort, as well as many private villas.

170 We learn from the '*Bollettino del Club Alpino Italiano*,' (1868, p. 241), that in 1867 a first inn had been burnt, but that in 1868 the proprietor Pierre Fosson had built another—*Hôtel des Cimes Blanches*—which contained six rooms and eight beds, and was to be enlarged. The 1872 Murray (p. 366) says that 'fair accommodation' can be obtained there, and it is mentioned as 'a little mountain inn' by Mr. Ball in 1873 (p. 329), a phrase which in the 1875 edition (p. 329) has become 'a very good little mountain inn.' The 1888 Von Tschudi (pp. 290-295) calls it solitary and small but good.

171 The *Hôtel Nesthorn* did not exist in 1867 as I can testify from my experiences in the Lötschthal that year, nor apparently in August 1868 ('*Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub*,' vol. vi. p. 152-53, yet see '*Alpine Journal*,' vol. iv. p. 239). It must, however, have been built that autumn, for in 1869 Herr Häberlin warmly recommends it and its landlord J. J. Lehner, speaking of it as 'a new inn' (*S. A. C. Jahrbuch*, vol. vi. p. 65). It is now well known to mountaineers as a very pleasant little mountain inn, not yet enlarged into a Grand *Hôtel*.

172 Pfarrer Strasser gives me the date 1871; Herr Bohren Ritschard, formerly landlord of the Adler at Grindelwald, says 1872; yet the 1870 Von Tschudi ('*Nord- und West-Schweiz*,' p. 115) mentions it as then existing.

173 This date is the one given for the building of the inn by

the guide Bovier of Evolena to a Lausanne friend to whom I applied for information. Mr. Schuster tells me that it was just opened when he visited it in 1876.

174 'Cronaca del Club Alpino Italiano,' p. 79.

175 1879 Murray, p. 376.

176 1880 Von Tschudi, p. 307, 'a rough inn.' A large new building was being constructed in 1883 (to be opened in 1884) to serve as an inn ('Alpine Journal,' vol. xi. p. 396). The 'Cronaca del Club Alpino Italiano' (p. 79) says it was opened in 1883 and had twenty beds. It was certainly open in July 1886, when I visited it.

177 See 'Alpine Journal,' x. 112. M. Martel, however ('Annuaire du Club Alpin Français,' 1887, p. 77), says distinctly that it was opened in 1881.

178 'Alpine Journal,' vol. x. p. 487, cf. vol. xi. p. 397. In 1844 M. Desor found at the Pedemon chalets 'une petite auberge où nous fûmes accueillis avec beaucoup de prévenance par l'aubergiste qui n'a pas l'habitude de recevoir beaucoup d'étrangers' ('Nouvelles Excursions et Séjours dans les Glaciers,' p. 40). The authoress of 'Alpine Byways' (pp. 48-50) tells in 1859 the melancholy tale of how a man built a large house at the Alpe Devero, meant to serve as an hôtel, but it had to be closed as he lost his license in consequence of bankruptcy. He showed his visitors over the house, which contained large rooms devoid of any furniture beyond dairy utensils, glass, and crockery.

179 The Hôtel du Dôme was opened this year ('Alpine Journal,' vol. x. p. 487) and a new large inn (owned by Lochmatter of Macugnaga) in 1887.

180 'A most comfortable little inn, Hôtel Ofenhorn,' was opened this year at Binn ('Alpine Journal,' vol. xi. p. 481).

181 'Rivista Alpina Italiana,' 1883, 108. 'Alpine Journal,' vol. xi. p. 304, vol. xii. p. 62.

182 See note 104, p. 212.

183 De Saussure ('Voyages dans les Alpes,' vol. ii. pp. 554, 558, 562-63, 573—reproduced in Bourrit's 'Description des Cols, ou Passages des Alpes,' vol. i. pp. 64, 69, 75) mentions this hut and gives a full account of its building and of its appearance. It

was constructed of stones (without any mortar), against a great rock, by the orders of Bourrit, who had suffered greatly from cold during a bivouac in the open at the same spot on September 16-17, 1784. It afforded but rough quarters, and the door was formed by an opened umbrella, yet De Saussure slept well and spent a second night (September 13-14, 1786) there, Bourrit descending to the valley after one night's experiences. This was on the occasion of an attempt (the first by travellers) to ascend the Aiguille du Goûter, and thence gain the top of Mont Blanc.

184 De Saussure ordered the building of this hut in August 1786 immediately after the first ascent of Mont Blanc by Dr. Paccard and Jacques Balmat. Bad weather prevented him from using it that year, and in 1787 he preferred to sleep in a tent much higher up ('*Voyages*,' vol. iii. pp. 144, 159; Durier, '*Le Mont Blanc*,' second edition, p. 133). It was situated at the base of the rocks of the Grands Mulets, where one leaves the glacier now-a-days; but as early as 1802 it had lost its roof, though the ruins were plainly seen as late as 1844 (Bourrit, '*Description des Cols*,' vol. i. p. 107; Durier, pp. 276-77).

185 This hut was built of stones in June 1788, and was occupied by De Saussure's party during their famous sojourn of seventeen days (July 3-19) on the pass. It was six feet square, but very low, and there were many holes in the walls, so that it was half full of snow on their arrival ('*Voyages dans les Alpes*,' vol. iv. pp. 218, 220-25: there is a view of it in Plate iii. at the end of volume iv.). The ruins of this hut were found by Prof. J. D. Forbes, on July 23, 1842. 'The rock under which we breakfasted had supported the "Cabane" of De Saussure. I pleased myself with contemplating a board which yet remained of the materials of his habitation, and a very considerable quantity of straw, which lay under the stones which had formed its walls. The frosts of this elevation had preserved the straw in a pretty fresh state for half a century. . . . It is still well remembered at Courmayeur that, that month of July, having been exceedingly dry, the report arose, that the sorcerers who had established themselves on the mountain had stopped the

avenues of rain, and that it was gravely proposed to send a deputation to dislodge them by force' ('Travels in the Alps of Savoy,' pp. 228-29; 'The Tour of Mont Blanc,' pp. 66-68; see also Durier's 'Le Mont Blanc,' second edition, p. 216 note). In August 1853, Mr. Wills found traces of the encampment; 'a few fragments of straw, preserved by the frost, are the sole material relics of his adventurous sojourn' ('Wanderings among the High Alps,' p. 21). Messrs. Hudson and Kennedy ('Where there's a Will there's a Way,' first edition, p. 10), speaking of their visit to the col on August 7, 1855, write: 'A few stones alone mark the site of his encampment.'

186 This was built in 1829 (so Hugi himself) on the moraine at the foot of the Abschwung, and visited again by him in 1830 and 1836, having advanced a great distance between these years. (Agassiz, 'Etudes sur les Glaciers,' pp. 148-50; Hugi, 'Naturhistorische Alpenreise,' p. 230; Desor, 'Excursions et Séjours,' first series, pp. 138-39). M. Desor visited it in August 1839, finding the stone walls in good preservation and the inside still lined with hay (*ibid.* p. 138, and see M. Agassiz's representation of it in Plate xiv. of his 'Etudes'). But he found it quite ruined in 1840 (*ibid.* p. 143), and hence had to build another hut.

187 This was a hut built of stones (in 1840) to replace Hugi's, and 2,000 feet further up the moraine, against a great boulder on the central moraine of the Unteraar glacier. It sheltered MM. Agassiz, Desor, and their friends during their study of glacier phenomena, and was even visited by them in the February of 1841, when it was found quite buried in the snow (Desor's 'Excursions et Séjours dans les Glaciers,' first series, pp. 156, 270—and the illustration facing p. 156). M. Desor in 1844 found that the great boulder had split into two pieces, and that the hut was ruined ('Nouvelles Excursions et Séjours,' p. 117). Some of the great stones which formed this hut were found in 1884 on the moraine, 2,400 mètres lower down than in 1840 ('Alpine Journal,' vol. xii. pp. 177-78).

188 The Pavillon was built by MM. Desor and Agassiz high up above the left bank of the Unteraar glacier, as being safer than the central moraine where two huts had already perished—

Hugi's and the Hôtel des Neuchâtelois. M. Dollfus-Ausset built two days later another hut close by, 'qu'il appela la Smala pour la distinguer du Pavillon,' and this was ultimately handed over to the guides (Desor's 'Excursions et Séjours,' pp. 590-1). But as M. Dollfus frequently came thither in later years (until 1864 in fact) to pursue his researches, and rebuilt the hut, it came to bear the name of Pavillon Dollfus. It was a solidly built stone cabin with two rooms. In 1872 the heirs of M. Dollfus formally presented it to the Swiss Alpine Club, which, after the Hasli authorities, to whom it legally reverted on M. Dollfus's death, had in 1873 granted the club the right of using the hut, has repaired a small part of the ruins of the old house. It was originally placed under the charge of the Oberland section, and is now under that of the Zofingen section (see 'Jahrbuch des S. A. C.' vol. viii. p. 610, vol. ix. p. 601-2).

189 M. Durier ('Le Mont Blanc,' second edition, pp. 279-85) gives a full history of the first wooden hut on the Grands Mulets, constructed by the guides, and inaugurated on September 21, 1853. In 1866-67 considerable changes were made. The old hut was given over to the guides, while of the three new rooms added, two were reserved for travellers and the third was used as a kitchen and sitting-room. It has since become practically a little mountain inn with servants resident during the season, and was long managed by Sylvain Couttet, of the Pierre Pointue inn.

190 This hut, built by M. Guichard, was meant, like Bourrit's, to facilitate the ascent of Mont Blanc by the Aiguille du Goûter: but it was nearly in ruins in 1855 (see Mr. Ball, 'Western Alps,' 1863, p. 212; 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers,' First Series, 60-61; and Messrs. Hudson and Kennedy's 'Where there's a Will there's a Way,' first edition, 30-32, second edition, 36-38). In the latter work another cabane, built in 1853, is mentioned, of which I can find no further account.

191 See M. Durier's 'Le Mont Blanc,' 2nd edition, p. 308 n.; 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers,' 1st series, p. 70. It was completely rebuilt in 1882 by the St. Gervais guides ('Annuaire du Club Alpin Français,' 1887, p. 63).



192 This is the wooden hut (sometimes called 'Cabane du Tacul') at the foot of the southern rocks of the Aiguille du Midi, which is generally full of ice (M. Durier's 'Le Mont Blanc,' 2nd edition, pp. 318-19).

193 The walls were built by the Tödi section of the S. A. C. in 1863, and the roof put on in 1864 (see 'Alpine Journal,' vol. i. p. 320, and 'Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub,' vol. i. p. 42, vol. ii. p. 516). There is a woodcut of this hut—the first ever built by the S. A. C.—on the last cited page. It was repaired in 1870 and 1873 ('Jahrbuch des S. A. C.' vol. xvii. p. 359).

194 This hut was originally built in 1864 ('Jahrbuch des S. A. C.' vol. ii. pp. 9, 28, 30). A new one was built not far off in 1867 (*ibid.* vol. iv. p. 31, vol. v. p. 741, vol. vi. p. 578). These two huts are the first built by the S. A. C., the Silvretta hut following in 1865. By the end of 1872 the Club possessed twelve huts ('Jahrbuch,' vol. viii. p. 610); in 1874, 14 (*ibid.* vol. x. p. 634); in 1875, 13 (*ibid.* vol. xi. p. 600); in 1876, 23 (*ibid.* vol. xii. p. 530, vol. xiii. pp. 450-58); in 1879, 26 (*ibid.* vol. xiv. p. 592, vol. xiii. p. 632); in 1880, 28 (vol. xv. pp. 537, *sqq.*); and in 1888, 32 (see list in the appendix to vol. xxiii. of the 'Jahrbuch').

195 Built by Herr Wellig ('Alpine Journal,' vol. ii. p. 160). Its successor—the Concordia hut—rather higher up the glacier, was built by Herr Cathrein in 1877.

196 Built by the Italian Alpine Club (with the proceeds of a subscription) on the Cravate ('Bollettino del C. A. I.' 1868, pp. 49-52, 58-59, cf. 'Alpine Journal,' vol. ii. pp. 268-69; Whymper's 'Scrambles,' pp. 418-19, 'Ascent of Matterhorn,' pp. 307-8). The hut at the foot of the Grande Tour was built in 1885 by the Aosta section.

197 Built by Herr Seiler and the S. A. C. ('Alpine Journal,' vol. iv. p. 158; Whymper's 'Scrambles,' p. 420; 'Ascent of Matterhorn,' p. 309). The lower Matterhorn hut was built in 1880.

198 A hut was begun in 1865 on the rocks of the Mönch at a considerable height above the Mönchjoch, but it was never roofed or completed as the position was found to be too exposed ('Jahrbuch des S. A. C.' vol. ix. pp. 546-7). The Grindelwald

guides (by whom the hut was built) therefore constructed one in 1869 much lower down on the rocks of the Bergli, part of the materials of the old hut being used for the new one (*ibid.* vol. ix. pp. 547-51), and part of the expenses being borne by the S. A. C. and the Bern section. It was rebuilt in 1883 at a rather higher point on the same rock, the Bern section defraying the cost and now having it in its charge (*ibid.* vol. xix. p. 725).

199 For many years the only shelter at the S. foot of the Wetterhorn was under the great boulder known as the Gleckstein, of the state of which in 1854, when the cave had not been fitted up at all, Mr. Wills has given a vivid picture ('Wanderings among the High Alps,' pp. 281-84).

In 1870 the Grindelwald guides built a hut not very far away, called the Weisshorn Hütte (list of huts in appendix to S. A. C. 'Jahrbuch,' vol. xxiii.), and in 1880 this was rebuilt by the S. A. C., and placed under the charge of the Blümlis Alp section ('Jahrbuch des S. A. C.' vol. xvi. p. 591).

200 Built by the Monte Rosa section of the S. A. C. ('Jahrbuch des S. A. C.' vol. x. p. 681, vol. xi. pp. 525-30, 600, 614).

201 Built by the Oberland section of the S. A. C. ('Jahrbuch des S. A. C.' xiii. 632). Enlarged and rebuilt by the Basel section in 1886 (*ibid.* xxi. 562, and list of huts in appendix to vol. xxiii.). This hut replaces the old cave under the great boulder named the Kastenstein.

*HOW ZERMATT  
BECAME A MOUNTAINEERING CENTRE.*

ALPINE climbers have not had much to do as yet with centenary and jubilee celebrations. The chief exception to this rule was the case of the festivities at Chamonix in 1886 and 1887, in honour of the ascents of Mont Blanc in 1786 by Dr. Paccard and Jacques Balmat, in 1787 by De Saussure. Now, in the year 1889, the village of Zermatt might, if it chose, celebrate both a centenary and a jubilee, though I have not heard that any festivities have actually been arranged. Yet the events which might be commemorated are important ones in the development of the village as a great mountaineering centre: for in 1789 De Saussure paid a visit to Zermatt which is the first recorded visit by a traveller of which a detailed account has been preserved,<sup>1</sup> while in 1839 Dr. Lauber's little inn was opened, being the first hôtel in the village which was specially intended for the accommodation of travellers. It may be of interest to some readers to have set before them a sketch of the rise of Zermatt as a mountaineering centre (down to 1855, a date which in several respects forms an epoch in the history of

the village), as well as a briefer outline of its general history, political and ecclesiastical.<sup>2</sup>

Though it is not much more than a hundred years since its existence became known to travellers, it must not be supposed that Zermatt was then a new village, for we can trace its history back for over six hundred years.

The main hamlet (in den Hoffen) probably always stood in its present position, but local tradition places the site of an older village, named Zu den tiefen Matten, in the Zmutt valley, at the foot of the Hohwäng or Schönbühlberg, where fragments of household or stable utensils brought down by the glacier are said to have been found within recent times. This is supposed to have been colonised from the Evolena or Anniviers (Einfisch) valleys, and is thus connected with the tale of an old pass across the glaciers to one or other of these valleys. Pfarrer Ruden (pp. 143 *sqq.*) cites several bits of evidence in support of this ancient passage:—a paved track at the foot of the Hörnli; the name 'Eifischbalme' still given to a spot on the Schönbühlberg; the facts that certain Zermatt surnames are found in fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth century documents preserved in the archives of various places, particularly Evolena, in the Val d'Hérens, and that some of these people are distinctly said to have settled in Evolena in 1443. The most cogent argument yet adduced is an ordinance of Bishop Henry Esperlin of Sion, dated 1455, in which the priest of St. Martin (a church in the Val d'Hérens, some way below Evolena) is ordered to maintain a chaplain '*qui sciat linguam*

theotonicam in ecclesia' (i.e. for the German-speaking immigrants), and who was to live 'in interiori de Evolenaz' if the priest himself did not care to do so; this ordinance is said to be based on an express request of the Zermatters dating as far back as 1364. It is uncertain whether the annual procession to Sion went thither across the glaciers or not, though a local legend asserts that a sacristan one morning rang the bells for early mass in Zermatt, and was in Sion when the Angelus bell rang there the same evening. The existence of an annual procession to Sion (possibly to pray against bad weather) is certain, for in 1666 it was altered by a decree of the Bishop of Sion, probably owing to the difficulties of the way, into one to Täsch, in which one member from each household was to join; fees were to be paid to the priests of Täsch and Zermatt for saying mass and leading the procession respectively, to the sacristan of Täsch for ringing the bells, and to the three churches of Our Lady, S. Théodule, and S. Katharine at Sion. It was to these churches that the original procession had wended its way, and the fees fixed in 1666 were paid to them annually until 1816, when they were commuted for a lump sum paid down.

Such is the legendary history of this vanished village. Zermatt itself is first mentioned in an authentic document of 1280, printed by Pfarrer Ruden (pp. 100-1), and was then apparently quite an old-established place.<sup>3</sup> This is a deed, dated October 27, 1280, by which one Walter de Riede, with the leave of his son Peter and of his daughters Salome and Emma,

and of John de Riede, guardian of the other children of Walter who were still minors, sold for twenty pounds, paid down, to Walter the son of Emke and his heirs, his meadow at Finellen (Findelen), and house above, with a chalet, together with his share *an der ekkun* (Eggen-Alp), with the water, and all other things appertaining to it. There are four witnesses named, one of them, Walter, the 'curatus,' or parish priest, 'de Prato-borno.' This deed was drawn up on behalf of Norman, the precentor and chancellor of the cathedral church of Sion, the scribe being Peter, 'capellanus juratus.' The curse of God is invoked on any one who shall dare to transgress the provisions of the deed, and such person is also to pay sixty pounds and a gold obolus to the king. The deed was executed 'apud Prato-bornum,' 'Rodolpho regnante, Petro episcopante.' The latter was Peter I., bishop of Sion from 1275 to, 1287, while the former is no other than Rudolf of Habsburg himself, the first of his house to come anywhere near the imperial throne, for he was elected King of the Romans in 1273, though he died on July 15, 1291, having never received the imperial crown at Rome. As the famous 'Everlasting League' between the men of Uri, of Schwyz, and of Nidwald, which was the beginning of the Swiss Confederation, was only made on August 1, 1291, we may picture to ourselves Zermatt as a flourishing village before the Swiss Confederation existed; while we must not forget that it did not formally become part of the Confederation till the admission of the Valais in 1815 as a full canton by decree of the Congress of Vienna.

Next in point of date comes the will of the aforesaid Norman, precentor and chancellor of Sion, which is dated April 24, 1285, a few days before his death on May 6.<sup>4</sup> By it he leaves a legacy of two 'solidi censuales' to the church of Pra Borno or Zermatt, in which he seems to have had some special interest, though we know not of what nature. One of the witnesses was John, the priest of Chouson, Gasen, or St. Niklaus, in which parish Zermatt was then included. As similar legacies are bequeathed to the churches of Simplon, Naters, Visp, S. Nicholas of Chouson, Raron, and Leuk, we may assume that Zermatt was a place of a certain amount of importance.

The men of Prato Borno are mentioned on the side of the count in the great peace made on August 16, 1291, between Jocelin of Blandrate, near Novara, 'Major' (or Count) of Visp from 1282 to 1309, and the Val Anzasca men, by which it was agreed that the proceeds of any thefts or robberies of the goods and chattels of the Val Anzasca men should not be carried through the territories of the men of Prato Borno. The Zermatt men are coupled with their neighbours of Saas and Chouson [St. Niklaus], so that their village cannot have been an insignificant place.<sup>5</sup> In 1318, Walter 'de Lavota,' of Visp, the priest of Pra Borno, is one of the witnesses—second on the list—to a grant of a house at Sion by the bishop and chapter of Sion to William of Anniviers;<sup>6</sup> while in 1324, John, son of William of Prato Borno, acknowledges that he owes homage and certain dues in kind and in money to Philip, the parish priest of Visp.<sup>7</sup> In 1334, we

hear that Perrin the clerk, of Raron, is granted by the chapter of Sion the rights of a notary (*cancellaria*) in the parish of Prato Borno, as well as in those of Raron, Niedergestelen, Lötschen, Visp, Chouson, and Saas, in return for an annual render of thirteen measures of corn. By virtue of this grant he alone in the district could draw up wills and contracts to last for more than eight years.<sup>8</sup> In 1350, Peter de la Tour, lord of Gestelen or Châtillon, leaves in his will (dated October 15) his castle of Châtillon, with the valleys of Lötschen, Chouson, and Praborny, with all appurtenances and appendages, to his son Antony (the last baron of this house), over and above the third equal share he is to receive of the rest of his father's possessions.<sup>9</sup> In 1357, Prato Borno is mentioned as one of the places in which John de Mont had made over his hereditary rights to his wife Isabella.<sup>10</sup> In 1362, Guichard Tavelli, bishop of Sion, makes peace with the men of Mörel, Arnen, and Conches. In the course of this lengthy document (Jan. 4), the bishop promises if he is released from bondage to remove the interdict under which he had laid the parishes of Chouson and Prato Borno for having joined the aforesaid men in their war against him, and withheld dues payable to him; and also to 'reconcile' (i.e. account as consecrated) if need be the churchyards of the same two villages, reserving all the tithes and all payments and services due to him, but pardoning the murders, fires, and plunderings which they had committed in this war; on January 10, he ratified his promises and removed the interdict.<sup>11</sup> An entry in



the roll of tithes payable, about 1364, to the Bishop of Sion, shows that the priest of 'Pratoburnoz' was taxed at ten solidi only; while his neighbour of Chouson paid twenty-four, thus showing that Zermatt was not nearly so rich a place as S. Niklaus.<sup>12</sup> An allusion in a document of 1368 to the possessions of Marquet of Visp at Chouson and 'super Prato Broni'—which had been forfeited to the Bishop of Sion, because they had been alienated, and feoffment of them had not been obtained from the bishop, though Peter de la Tour maintained that they were his fiefs, and which the arbitrator, Count Amadeus VI. of Savoy, declares to belong to the bishop<sup>13</sup>—is the latest entry I can find relating to Zermatt in M. Gremaud's collection of nearly 2,200 documents concerning the Valais.

In all these documents it will be noticed that the village is called Pra Borno, or Prato Borno, or some form of this name, which still lingers on as Praborgne. In all probability it is derived from 'pré borné,' referring to the meadows which form the parish and are shut in on all sides by rugged hills. It is a relic of the days before the Teutonic settlement of the valley, the date of which I have not been able to fix precisely. The name 'Prato Borno' occurs in 1368, as we have seen, for the last time in M. Gremaud's collection of documents; while in Konrad Türost's map of Switzerland, made 1495-97, we find 'Matt,' so that the settlement must have taken place between those dates. 'Zermatt' seems to be quite a modern form of the name, for the latest edition (1778)

of the 'Délices de la Suisse' calls it 'Matt,' though De Saussure in 1789 speaks of 'Zer Matt.' The first edition of Ebel's Swiss Guide-book (1793) does not mention the Visp valleys at all, while the second (1804-5) and third (1809-10) mention our village as 'Zer Matt, Zur Matt, Praborgne,' and the French edition of 1818 as 'Zermatt, Matt, Zur Matt, en français Praborgne.' It was from the meadows which gave the name to the village that the great peak above them, the Matterhorn, also got its name, as well as the pass over into Italy.<sup>14</sup>

The documents of 1350, 1357, and 1368 appear to be the only ones of a date earlier than the fifteenth century in which we hear of any family possessing rights over Zermatt. It is not known how the great and powerful clan of La Tour-Châtillon acquired a title to possessions in the Visp valleys, and doubtless they were lost after its expulsion from the Valais (1375) and the sale of their castle (1376) to the bishop, Edward of Savoy.<sup>15</sup>

The later secular history of Zermatt seems to be pretty well known.<sup>16</sup> The inhabitants were in mediæval times the serfs of three separate families:—

(1) *The Werras of Leuk*, mentioned as part lords of the village in 1435, who in 1515 bought half the valley from the heiress of the Esperlins of Raron, a family which had held it as early as 1448, and which is said by Furrer<sup>17</sup> to have bought in 1355 certain rents in the valley from Peter de la Tour, lord of Châtillon. In 1515, 115 households belonged to the Werras.

(2) *The Perrinis of Leuk*, mentioned about 1515 as owning thirty-five households.

(3) *The De Plateas of Visp*, one of whom bought a share of the lordship (24 households) in 1482 from others of the same family.

The Kalbermatters of Visp bought a part (15 households) from the De Plateas in 1528, but later the De Plateas regained it, partly by will, partly by purchase, though Furrer<sup>18</sup> says that as late as 1621 Josef Kalbermatter, then serving in the French army, had certain feudal rights in Zermatt over persons and lands which were bound to render military service.

The rights of these families were gradually bought up by their serfs, who thus became free. The Werras were thus bought out in 1538, the Perrinis in 1562, the De Plateas in 1618. On gaining their freedom the Werra serfs drew up a constitution for themselves in 1540, which in 1576 was adopted by the Perrini men, and in 1621 by the De Platea men. There were thus three local units in Zermatt, each governed by its 'reeve' or 'Meier,' with the aid of a deputy, and four sworn men or 'jurati,' all these officials being elected at the biennial meeting of each 'Gemeinde.' Herr Ruden (pp. 124-26) prints the constitution, from which it appears that each 'Gemeinde' enjoyed both criminal and civil jurisdiction (there was a gallows on the Egge above the Spisfluh, though no execution is recorded), an appeal lying to the 'castellanus' of Visp, or to one or more of the divisions (Dizains or Zenden) into which the Upper Valais was divided. Such was the form of government in Zermatt till it was overthrown by the French, with great bloodshed, in 1798.

Even under the rule of the feudal lords, the men of Zermatt enjoyed certain rights and privileges as regards the forests, common meadow land, and common pasture land. Originally the tenants of each lord arranged these matters as they chose; but, as this was found to be very inconvenient, a meeting of representatives of each of the three sets was held in 1476.<sup>19</sup> The tenants were then distributed into four groups, according to the situation of their houses, each group bearing a fourth of the common expenses, but enjoying a fourth of the profits of the forests and common lands, while to each was assigned, to hold as its own property, all the beasts of chase within the bounds of its territory. These four groups were:—

(1) '*Hoffero*,' or '*in den Hoffen*' (where the main village now stands)—39 households.

(2) '*Wynchilmattero*' (Winkelmatt)—43 households.

(3) '*Arolejtero*' (Aroleit)—46 households.

(4) '*Muttero*' (Zmutt)—54 households.

A certain plot, called '*Grindero Gwaldsami*' (near the Triftbach, which is even now popularly called Baumbassier or Baumossier, a name perhaps derived from *beau monsieur*), was held in common by the four groups.

This division soon occasioned quarrels, so that very soon three of the groups joined their shares together, except so far as beasts of chase were concerned. Aroleit, however, never would do this, and endless quarrels ensued. A compromise made in 1555 did not work well, and in these matters great discontent

prevailed till 1791, when the four groups or quarters were merged into a single 'Gemeinde' or commune—the forests, common lands, and beasts being held in common by all four, the members of each being entitled to the customary or other rights which they had hitherto enjoyed. The marmots were distributed by lot, until, in 1850, they were placed under the protection of the cantonal game laws. Pfarrer Ruden discusses at length the much disputed question of the method according to which, before 1791, the enjoyment of the common lands was regulated. His conclusion is, that as the sums required to purchase freedom, both of men and lands, from the lords were most probably assessed on each man according to the amount of his landed property, and not in equal proportion for each household, the right of user of the forests and common lands was most probably annexed to certain lands, rather than vested in every man of the valley—i.e. that the right of enjoyment was 'real' and not 'personal.' Thus, we do not find in a 1579 regulation of the guild which settled matters as to the 'Allmend' or common lands (just mentioned by Pfarrer Ruden<sup>20</sup>) that the richer men had to pay anything to the poorer for the extra use of the pastures, as they must certainly have done had the right of user been vested in every member of the 'Gemeinde.' It is to be noted further that a piece of land to which such rights are annexed is even now sold at a premium, and that the 'Alps' (or mountain pastures) have never passed into the possession of non-Zermatters.

The dates 1621, 1791, and 1798 thus mark the

main epochs in the secular and constitutional history of Zermatt. It has many analogies with early English institutions, and one might go so far as to conjecture that in the one case, as in the other, the existence of common lands ('common of the manor' or 'the lord's waste') points to the former existence of a free village community, which later fell into the power of feudal lords, retaining a mere shadow of its former rights until it recovered them by purchase. In short, the transition from a free mark community to a manor may have taken place at Zermatt in days of which no written record exists, as it did in England and many parts of Germany. Thus, the common pasturage on the Riffelberg would precisely answer to the common pasture of Port Meadow near Oxford, which has never been lost to its original owners, the 'freemen' or 'patricians' of Oxford.

Among miscellaneous items relating to Zermatt, we may note that in 1406 a certain sum was paid to a man to maintain the road down the valley, while other sums were paid in 1583 and 1612 as compensation to owners for the construction of a new path, as the old one was covered with water. Some of the entries in the Obit book, or Register of Burials, are very interesting. In 1574 we find the name of Johann Branschen, captain in the Swiss Papal Guard (formed about 1505), and there are several entries (1585, 1616, 1738, 1746, 1762) of Zermatters who died as soldiers in the French army, one (1775) in the Austrian army in Italy, and possibly one in Spain (1769).

Between 1578 and 1580, three Zermatt women,

Anna Biner, Anna Zersalzgeben, and Anna Tschugger, died at Grindelwald far away in Bern, while Anna Schälbetter died in Hasliland—bits of evidence which may prop up the theory of the early passage of the Mönchjoch, but more probably belong to the history of the Gemmi or of the Lötschen Pass. A number of deaths are recorded as due to falls from rocks or avalanches (one on the Stockje while hunting in 1741), while here and there—six men in 1669, Johann Lauber in 1816, and a man in 1848—it is expressly stated that the death took place on the Théodule glacier. The body of an unknown man was found there in 1795. He was, no doubt, a foreigner, possibly a soldier. The case may bring to our minds the extraordinary discovery made in 1872 by Mr. Gardiner's party on the Verra glacier.<sup>21</sup>

The ecclesiastical history of Zermatt does not present any very remarkable features. It was, of course, included in the diocese of Sion. The date at which the existing village church was built is not known.<sup>22</sup> It is dedicated to St. Maurice and the other martyrs of the Theban Legion, and is said to have been founded by Philippa de Platea of Visp, a member of a family which had, as we have seen, extensive rights over the village. It must be of considerable antiquity, for the old sacristy built on to the choir is dated 1587; while of the four bells, one is undated, and the others bear the following dates and dedications: 1697 (St. Agatha—presented by the guild of that name), 1640 (Our Lady and St. Théodule), and 1702 (the Holy Trinity). The high altar received a gift of 200 crowns

from Bishop John Joseph Blatter of Sion (1734-52), a member of a Visp family which had been originally settled in Zermatt; as a mark of gratitude his arms were placed on the altar. The 'Caspar Haus' on the 'place' was the original priest's house, and was built in 1471, according to an existing inscription on it; the actual vicarage dates from 1576. Another house in the village bears the date 1679. Originally Zermatt was ecclesiastically dependent on St. Niklaus, but later it became a distinct parish (though the hamlet of Aroleit is said to have bought this privilege, after the rest of the settlement). The Pfarrer of Zermatt still pays his brother of St. Niklaus the sum of 3 francs 85 cents a year—doubtless a relic of the latter's former supremacy; but the St. Niklaus priest is bound to come up to Zermatt whenever sent for by a sick person. There are some traces of an old foundation for a chaplain or assistant curate, and various altars in the church enjoyed separate revenues, the gifts of the faithful. The existing endowment for a chaplain dates from 1716, though it has been considerably increased since. The mother church was endowed, by a lady of the De Platea family (perhaps Philippa herself), with a glebe close by, and with certain corn rents, payable by the men of Stalden, which were commuted for a lump sum, part between 1702 and 1736, part in 1854. To complete the ecclesiastical history of Zermatt it may be added that the first priest named occurs in 1280, and that the list is complete and continuous from 1536 onwards; while in the local archives there are still preserved two indulgences for forty days each to the Zermatters on



the performance of certain duties, both granted by Bishops of Sion in 1433 and 1501 : the latter making mention also of another of one hundred days from each of sixteen cardinals ! By a dispensation of 1473, granted by the Bishop of Sion in virtue of a special papal decree, the Zermatters were permitted to eat butter and other products of milk in Lent and on other fast-days. The parish registers begin late ; baptisms 1721, marriages and burials 1767, though notices of earlier events have been put in by successive Pfarrers.

Such is an outline of the strictly local history of Zermatt. For many years, even centuries, the men of Zermatt lived their own life apart from the world, the mode of life, no doubt, being similar to that described in the autobiography of Thomas Platter (1499–1582) as prevailing lower down the St. Niklaus valley in the early sixteenth century.<sup>23</sup> I must now narrate the history of the village so far as relates to the visits of strangers. Foreigners must undoubtedly have come over the St. Théodule from time to time ; but their names have not been handed down to us. The pass is mentioned as early as 1543 by Sebastian Münster in his ‘*Cosmographia*’ (p. 333 of the Basel edition of 1550). He says, ‘*A Vespa iter extenditur per montem Saser et ab alio latere per montem Matter, ad oppida quædam Mediolanensis ditionis, item ad vallem Kremerthal [Val Tournanche, which is called Krämerthal in German to this day] quæ paret comiti a Zaland,*’ and marks it on his map (ibid. p. 331) by the

double name of 'Augstalberg' [Aosta Mountain] and 'Mons Sylvius' (now known to us in the form Mont Cervin). Later writers, such as Stumpf (1546), Tschudi (died 1572), Simler (1574), Scheuchzer (1716), and Gruner (1760), also speak of it as well as of the village of Matt.<sup>24</sup> The pass must have been frequented by 1688, since in that year directions were given by the governor of the valley of Aosta (on behalf of his master the Duke of Savoy) that the frontier towards the Valais should be strictly guarded so as to prevent the Vaudois, who in 1687 had been expelled from their home in the Piedmontese valleys, commonly known as 'the Waldensian valleys,' and had taken refuge in Switzerland, from re-crossing the Alps. Minute instructions are given as to the redoubts to be thrown up, and the garrison, seventy in number, to be maintained on the pass itself and a little way below.<sup>25</sup>

These fortifications were actually erected, for they are mentioned in the very full and interesting description of the pass from Praborna over the St. Théodule to Jomein and Châtillon, given in 1691-94 by an Aostan official, Philibert Amadeus Arnod.<sup>26</sup>

Thus we see that, about 1688-91, the Aostans aimed rather at keeping the Zermatt men and their friends out of the valley of Aosta than at themselves crossing over to Zermatt, though, no doubt, this was done largely for mercantile purposes.

In the next stage we find that strangers are becoming curious about Zermatt, which had kept to itself so long that a legend of a 'lost valley' had grown up among the Germans who inhabited the upper portions

of the Gressoney and Alagna valleys. Hence, in August 1778, seven young men, led by Nicholas Vincent, set out from Gressoney for the unknown glacier world, and finally gained a point on the watershed - named by them the 'Entdeckungsfels,' or Rock of Discovery - whence they looked down on the lost valley, which seemed to them covered with ice. So far the original account.<sup>27</sup>

De Saussure, when at Gressoney in 1789, conversed with one of these men, and ascertained that the valley named Hohlauben was reported to have been filled up with ice, and that in 1780 the party had made another attempt at exploration, but, despite crampons, rocks, and ladders, had failed to descend into the unknown valley, in which cows and herdsmen were seen. De Saussure suggests that it may be the valley of Pedriolo, near Macugnaga.<sup>28</sup> Finally Von Welden<sup>29</sup> tells us that the legend was based on some old papers at Saas, that a second attempt took place in 1779, and that on a third three hunters only reached the 'Entdeckungsfels,' and convinced themselves that the lost valley was none other than the Matterthal. His authority for these statements was Vincent himself, one of the three. Mr. Conway, who one hundred years later followed in their track to the 'Rock of Discovery,' has told us what a splendid view must have met the eyes of these three adventurers.<sup>30</sup> One might suggest (though Schott, in his 'Die Deutschen Colonien in Piemont,' 1842, does not seem to have noticed the legend) that the foundation of the story is to be sought in some dim recollection handed down by the first German immigrants

during their wanderings from Saas over the lower passes to the heads of the Macugnaga, Alagna, and Gressoney valleys. However that may be, certain it is that there was a legend of a lost valley, and that some men searching for it discovered that it was a known and inhabited one.

Up to this time strangers had looked over into the Zermatt valley, whether from fear or from curiosity. At last one man dared to visit it. This was the celebrated De Saussure of Geneva, who in the last century really began the systematic exploration of the Alps, and did much to dispel the mysterious veil which seemed to hide the dwellers among the hills from their brethren in the plains. Having started from Geneva, he crossed the Simplon, made the tour of Monte Rosa by way of Macugnaga and the other valleys to the south of the chain, and reached Breil on August 12, 1789. After being detained a day there by rain, he and his caravan achieved, on August 14, the first recorded passage of the St. Théodule by travellers (finding the remains of the redoubt thrown up in 1688), and that evening reached 'Zer Matt,' where his experiences were not particularly agreeable. 'Nous eûmes une peine extrême à trouver une maison où l'on voulut nous loger ; les cabaretiers étoient ou absents ou de mauvaise volonté. Le curé qui loge quelquefois les voyageurs nous fit répondre *qu'il ne vouloit rien nous vendre*. Enfin, notre brave guide Jean-Baptiste Erin, chez qui nous avons logé aux chalets du Breuil

et que je recommande à ceux qui feront ce voyage, força un cabaretier à nous recevoir.<sup>31</sup>

It is not clear whether De Saussure means to say that the curé of Zermatt was already in the habit of receiving travellers, or whether he was alluding to the common practice in remote valleys of applying for hospitality to the curé or pastor—a practice which he had often, no doubt, adopted, and which still prevails, as I can testify, in some of the secluded valleys of the Piedmontese Alps. In any case, we can scarcely be surprised that, under the circumstances, the valley is dismissed with a passing allusion to the Matterhorn, and that next morning the party hurried down to more hospitable regions. But the valley was now no longer lost, and became known to the world of travellers on the publication of De Saussure's account in 1796. It was very possibly due to his unpleasant recollections of Zermatt that when, in 1792, he spent three days (August 11–14) on the crest of the St. Théodule pass in order to study the Matterhorn, which had greatly struck him, he went up and down on the Italian side, not caring again to find himself in such uncomfortable quarters as Zermatt then alone afforded. On August 13 he made the first ascent of the Klein Matterhorn, which he called 'Cime Brune du Breithorn,' to distinguish it from the higher snow peak to the east, towards which he cast longing eyes, but which he was prevented from climbing by lack of time and the huge crevasses in the glacier between the two points.<sup>32</sup>

A month after De Saussure's journey of 1792, the herbalist Schleicher, who was one of the rivals of the

Thomases in collecting plants for Swiss botanists, crossed the St. Théodule from Zermatt to Breil, and reaped a rich botanical harvest on the way.<sup>33</sup> The way was now opened, and Englishmen soon found it out, determined to be early in the field, if they could not be the first. In the summer of 1800 the first English party, after narrowly escaping being murdered at Nuz, in the Val d'Aosta, made their way up the Val Touranche, exciting the greatest astonishment amongst the natives, and next day crossed the St. Théodule to Zermatt. Their experiences at that village are thus described: <sup>34</sup> 'On arriving at Zermatt, they were received, after some difficulty, into the village inn; but they were so pestered by the crowds of natives who came to see them and ask questions, in what sounded like High Dutch, that they sent to ask the hospitality of the curé. This was willingly accorded. From him they heard the story of the cruelties of the French in the valley. Enraged by the resistance of the inhabitants at St. Nicolas, they spared neither sex nor age in the indiscriminate slaughter. At Zermatt no resistance was offered, but they demanded the enormous sum of 500,000 francs [?]. The priest was bound, and a poniard held to his throat till the sum was raised.' They went down the valley next day, finding St. Nicolas in ruins, and being told by the curé there that they were the first Englishmen he had ever seen, so that they were asked to point out their country on an old atlas.

It is only fair to remark that the curé at Zermatt in 1800 was the same who had behaved so differently to De Saussure eleven years before. His name was

J. C. Berthod, and he held his office from 1782 till his death in 1801, which was possibly due to his treatment by the French, though the sum named as the ransom of the village must be absurdly exaggerated. It would be curious to ascertain how these Englishmen had heard of Zermatt and the St. Théodule, for they came from Martigny over the Great St. Bernard to Aosta, apparently for the express purpose of traversing the glaciers to Zermatt. Possibly they got the idea from reading De Saussure's account. I am inclined, however, to conjecture that they had heard of it from reading Scheuchzer's mention in his journey of 1705 (p. 303 of the collected edition of 1723). Scheuchzer was a Fellow of the Royal Society, to which his book is dedicated, and had many correspondents and friends in England. Further, he alone of the writers I have consulted calls the pass 'Rosa,' by a form of which name (Mont Rose) the English party also calls it—this name being, as is now admitted, but a form of the word 'roëse, roise, reuse' (= glacier), which was applied to all glaciers by the dwellers on the south, just as those on the north spoke of them (and of the St. Théodule, as is specially noted) as 'Der Gletscher.'

Zermatt was now getting known, and its fame—at this time mainly in the eyes of botanists and geologists—was spread more widely by the appearance of articles on 'Monte Rosa' and the 'Visperthäler' in Ebel's Swiss Guide-book, which was the one commonly used by travellers after its first appearance in 1793. The first edition does not seem to mention either the valleys, the village, or the peak. The second edition

(1804-5) describes the peak very briefly under the heading 'Rosa Monte,' and more at length under 'Anzaskathal'—a description revised and extended in the third edition (1809-10). The second edition, however, has an article, 'Visper-Thal,' which is reproduced in the 1809 edition, and, as before, fills no fewer than eight octavo pages. The information seems to be based almost entirely on De Saussure's narrative, with the addition of some botanical information from the Thomases and other botanists. The St. Théodule and the Matterhorn (both said to be entirely in Piedmont) are described minutely, and there is a brief allusion to that extremely dangerous pass to Macugnaga, the Weissgrat (Arête Blanche in the French edition), to cross which, one must ascend several thousand feet higher than the St. Théodule, and then descend for four hours over steep glaciers. In the French 1818 edition of Ebel we read (iii. p. 624) the following notes (referring to both valleys), which point to an increasing number of visitors, though their names are unknown to me: 'Les botanistes qui visiteront cet Eldorado de la Flore helvétique ne manqueront pas de s'adresser à M. le Chatelain *Kronig* de Zermatt, qui connoit au juste le lieu natal de toutes ces belles plantes. Il les dessèche parfaitement et les vend aux amateurs à des prix très-modérés. MM. les curés de la vallée de St.-Nicolas ont la bonté de bien recevoir les voyageurs qui leur demandent l'hospitalité.'

In 1818 there appeared an English recension of Ebel, called 'The Traveller's Guide through Switzerland,' which, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is



the first English guide-book to Switzerland. In the alphabetical list of places, Zermatt and the Matterhorn are just mentioned under the heading 'Matterthal,' and Ebel's long article on the Visp valleys is cut down to a short paragraph, of which this is the concluding sentence: 'Strangers, of course, are seldom seen amongst them, and that part of the country is almost entirely unknown.' In another part of the work, however (p. 384), there occurs the following remarkable passage, the precise source of which I have been entirely unable to trace, but which is important as being apparently the first notice of Zermatt published in English (for the notes of the 1800 party were not printed till 1876):

'A place which may perhaps interest the tourist is THE VALLEY OF PRABORGNE, which communicates with that of St. Nicholas. It is bounded by enormous glaciers, which descend to the bottom of the valley. The village of Praborgne is very lofty; it overlooks these glaciers from an immense height. Its climate is nearly as warm as that of Italy; even plants of the warm countries are gathered at a considerable height above the glaciers, which is a rare occurrence in Switzerland; they are often gathered below the glaciers, but seldom above.' The third edition (1835) of the same book remains unchanged in each and every one of these particulars. I have not been able to find any account of a visit to Zermatt or its immediate neighbourhood by a traveller between the English party of 1800 and another of 1821. This was Sir John Herschel, who in 1821 made the first recorded

ascent of the Breithorn by way of the St. Théodule,<sup>35</sup> though this may mean that he did not cross the pass, merely reaching it from Breil before beginning the ascent proper.

Next in order of date comes a visit in 1822 by Herr Hirzel-Escher of Zürich. He made the tour of Monte Rosa from Visp, by way of Macugnaga and the southern valleys—a most adventurous feat in those days—and proposed to crown his achievements by reaching Zermatt over the St. Théodule. His landlady at Gressoney, on hearing of his plan, ‘clasped her hands over her head, commended him and his friend to the care of the Almighty, and promised to pray that they might meet with no misfortune, for, she added, she knew the terrible dangers of the pass, as she had once crossed it with her husband.’<sup>36</sup> Despite this warning, and despite an attempt from the Cimes Blanches, frustrated by bad weather, a labyrinth of crevasses, and various disputes with their two Ayas guides, the party, led by a good and honest guide from Breil, one Jean Baptiste Menabraye, succeeded on July 27 in accomplishing their bold scheme, leaving Breil at 5 A.M., and reaching Zermatt early enough in the afternoon to induce them to stop for a good dinner only at the curé’s, and to go on to sleep at St. Niklaus. Among many interesting items in the very elaborate and lengthy narrative (pp. 65–100) of this passage which the author gives us, I may note that De Saussure’s three days’ stay on the pass was still remembered by the herdsmen at Breil; that the right track was marked all the way with sticks fixed by their guide on

his last traverse, five days before ; that on the way they were told that there was in old days a shorter pass nearer the Matterhorn, now blocked by fallen rocks and the advancing glacier ; that on the top they found the remains of the old entrenchments of 1688, and that on the way down towards Zermatt they met Herr Paul Vincent (fresh from an exploration of the N.E. side of Monte Rosa, undertaken from Zermatt),<sup>37</sup> with two Zermatt guides, so that the parties were able to exchange guides, to the satisfaction of every one. It seems as if it was almost as incumbent at this time on those who survived the perils of the St. Théodule, to publish a narrative of their adventures, as it was in the case of Mont Blanc itself.

Richard's '*Guide du Voyageur en Suisse*' (published in 1824) is, in all that relates to Zermatt, merely an abridged edition of Ebel, and gives no fresh information. The interval between 1822 and 1835 must be filled up with incidental notices of visits made by stray travellers.

On August 21, 1825, William Brockedon (the author of the beautifully illustrated work entitled '*Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps*,' 1828-29) crossed the St. Théodule to Zermatt, but under very unfavourable circumstances. Rain had detained him at Breil the whole of one day, and the day he came over the snow was in very bad condition and the weather not good, so that, having left his sleeping-quarters about noon, he did not reach Zermatt till 9 P.M. He could not discover the remains of De Saussure's hut, and found it very difficult to trace

out the redoubt on the crest of the pass. At Zermatt he put up at the curé's (Ignaz Gottsponer, curé 1812–1839) 'hospitable and comfortable house,' and the curé himself, seeing that his guest was excessively fatigued, 'with a kindness which I long refused, insisted on my occupying his own bed.' He found in the parsonage three German students bent on catching butterflies and collecting plants. Part of his diary for the next day must be given: '22d. —I awoke fevered and ill. At an early hour three Englishmen called upon me to know the state of the glaciers, as they intended to cross to the Val d'Aosta; they prepared to start immediately upon my report. I asked if either was a medical man; the youngest of the party answered for the rest, No; but, as he never travelled without medicine, he had at my service calomel, rhubarb, castor oil, magnesia, salts, &c.; it was impossible not to be amused, even whilst obliged. I think no one but a member of the Bull family would have thus borne about Apothecaries' Hall with him. But I must not record an ungrateful joke; his calomel restored me to health.' After spending a day quietly in the house, he walked down to St. Nicolas. 'When I left the curé he would not take more than five francs for all the trouble I had occasioned. He was a kind and hospitable man, and his handmaiden as good-tempered a creature as ever kept a house in order; to me, who suffered from fatigue, they were all kindness and attention'—and yet he tells a scandalous story about his hosts.<sup>38</sup>

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Reuter, 'trois jeunes botanistes,' made a very pleasant and successful visit to Zermatt towards the end of July, 1833.<sup>39</sup> In August 1834 Elie de Beaumont, the celebrated geologist, and rather later in the same year five Parisians, came to Zermatt, and their names were preserved on loose sheets of paper. It is also stated that in a previous year a M. Gui, of Paris, and his wife spent several weeks at Zermatt. Strangers were received by the curé, by the assistant priest, and by the village doctor, Dr. Lauber. In the house of the latter there stayed for some time in 1833 or 1834 a Bavarian princess with her husband and her servants—the recollection of the party lingering long in the memory of the villagers.<sup>40</sup>

It will have been noticed that up to this date most of the visitors to Zermatt simply arrived or left by the St. Théodule, and that the few of whom we hear more were botanists, geologists, or entomologists. The tourists pure and simple had not yet come, and, though many of the pastures round Zermatt were doubtless visited by naturalists, we have not heard of regular excursions or 'courses.' Between 1835 and 1847, however, we can trace four clearly defined steps in the development of Zermatt, which were taken in 1835, 1839, 1842, and 1847.

July 24, 1835, is an important date in the later history of Zermatt, for on that day there arrived at Zermatt, accompanied by his wife, the man who is the most conspicuous figure among the early visitors to

Zermatt, and who was the main cause, by his writings and his activity, of making the village known to travellers, not being naturalists and not yet mountaineers—Christian Moritz Engelhardt, of Strasburg. He had in his early days learnt to admire the mountains when living in Switzerland in 1793, and again in 1800 when as a soldier he took part in Macdonald's terrible winter campaign in the Graubünden. It was not, however, till he was fifty-five years of age that, in 1830, he actually visited them for the first time. A longer trip in 1832 only increased his ardour. His botanical zeal was fired by the accounts of Oppermann, of Strasburg, who spent many weeks exploring the side valleys of the Valais; and when his interest in geology was kindled by Elie de Beaumont's theories he could no longer resist the temptation, and determined to visit the group of Monte Rosa, to which his attention had long been directed, and as to which he could find very little information in published books. But though scientific reasons were the original causes of his first journey, it was rather the delight in the magnificent scenery in these valleys, and the desire to map and investigate the glaciers which surround them on all sides, that led him to repeat his visits to Saas and Zermatt in many subsequent years. Here we have only to deal with his sojourns in the latter village, which were no fewer than ten in number—1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1841, 1848, 1849, 1851, and 1855. These were described in detail in two elaborate books, illustrated with sketches, panoramas, and maps, which, perhaps, are even now the most complete monographs

on the immediate neighbourhood of Zermatt, their main subject, and are well worth reading by those who delight in Zermatt as Engelhardt did.<sup>41</sup> When we remember that he was already an old man when he began these explorations we shall not be astonished to find that he did not attempt any difficult excursions or try any of the higher peaks—exploits which were unheard of in those early days of Zermatt. His greatest feat was an expedition (July 28, 1836) to the summit of the St. Théodule, in which he was accompanied by his wife and her sister—probably the first ladies who had ever been up there. They spent over two hours on the uppermost rocks, Engelhardt making an elaborate drawing of the panorama, which is not to be treated with scorn by those who have come after him. Among the other excursions which he made more or less frequently between 1835 and 1839 were the Hohbalm (or Heubalm) at the foot of the Unter Gabelhorn; the Riffelberg—his favourite haunt being on the rocks east of the Riffelhorn (for he does not seem to have reached the Gornergrat, which he calls Rothgrat, till 1849); the lakes on the right bank of the Findelen glacier; the Schwarzsee, and the round back by the Zmutt glacier; and the ‘crater of the Gabelhorn,’ or the rocky cirque formed by the Gabelhorn and Rothhorn, which was viewed apparently from the ridge at the N.E. foot of the Unter Gabelhorn. His keen enthusiasm for high mountain scenery and his delight in the sight of peaks, passes, and glaciers appear on every page of his books; while the minute topographical details he gives, and his scrupulous care in finding

out the precise name of every peak and glacier, give them a value which can scarcely be overestimated by mountaineers who care for Alpine history.

On each of his earlier sojourns at Zermatt, Engelhardt, with his companions, put up at the house of the hospitable curé, Herr Ignaz Gottsponer. On his very first visit he pronounces it to be 'right good headquarters for exploring the neighbourhood'; he is charmed with the decent rooms, the good food, and the balcony running round the house, while the care and thoughtfulness of the curé and his housekeeper Marie are praised in the highest terms. The curé was often of great use in arranging terms with the guides, and a friendship sprang up between the two men which lasted till the death of the priest and does great honour to both.

In 1836, Herr Brunner, a Bernese botanist, who spent some time at Zermatt, and published an account of his journey in the '*Botanische Zeitung*,' presented the curé with a finely bound '*Travellers' Book*,' the first page of which was taken up by some verses in honour of his hospitality. This was shown to Engelhardt in 1837 with great pride, and is a sign—like the arrival of a Frenchman in 1837 over the St. Théodule, coming direct from Algiers, as well as of quite a swarm of naturalists and artists—that Zermatt was becoming more and more frequented.

One would fain dwell longer on these early days, when Zermatt was still far from the madding crowd,



and when more peace, though not more comfort, could be obtained there than later on. But the step in advance brought about by Engelhardt's first visit in 1835 was followed by another four years later.

This change is best indicated by a comparison of the first two editions of Murray's '*Handbook for Switzerland*.' In the 1838 (first) edition Zermatt is mentioned briefly in connection with the passage of the St. Théodule, the Matterhorn is pointed out as a thing to be specially admired; there are a few words on the terrible pass of the Arête Blanche to Macugnaga, and a very vague allusion to another crossing the glacier to Saas. The paragraphs that particularly concern us here run as follows: 'At Zermatt, two hours further, the house of the curé offers its hospitalities, and a worthier host than Jean François de la Costa<sup>42</sup> cannot be found. In the little plain of Zermatt, situate amidst the grandest scenery of nature, surrounded by forests of pines and vast glaciers, is placed, with its neat church, this elevated and retired village, with more cleanness and comfort among its inhabitants than is to be found in many places of greater pretensions: this has, perhaps, been effected by the influx of strangers, for many mineralogists, botanists, and entomologists come here to collect rich harvests in the neighbourhood. The intercourse with the Val d'Aosta by the Mont Cervin is not frequent enough to produce such effect upon the manners and character of the inhabitants—the example of the worthy curé may, however, have done much. Here many days may be spent in excursions to the glaciers and points of view with

which the neighbourhood abounds, and to which many of the inhabitants are excellent guides ' (pp. 247-48).

In the 1842 (second) edition (p. 266) the following sentence is inserted after the mention of the so-called curé : ' A good little *Inn*, however, comfortable in itself, and kept by civil people, is now established here,' the rest of the paragraph being unaltered, its substance, indeed, reappearing in many later editions. Three pages further on, ' A.T.M.' (the late Mr. Malkin) begins his valuable notes on the excursions to be made from Zermatt, and on the tour of Monte Rosa, by remarking, ' There is now a decent little mountain inn at Zermatt.'

This change in the matter of the accommodation for travellers—the second great step in the development of Zermatt as a mountaineering centre—took place in 1839. In that year Dr. Lauber,<sup>43</sup> the village doctor, who had, as we have seen, received travellers in earlier years, became the sole innkeeper of Zermatt—at least, so far as regards strangers. For the Valais Government forbade priests to keep inns in villages where there was already one; and also Herr Gottsponer, in consequence of advancing years, exchanged his office of parish priest for that of chaplain on the special foundation attached to the parish church.<sup>44</sup>

Dr. Lauber thus obtained the monopoly of receiving strangers, and retained it till 1852, not finally retiring till 1854. There was, however, a notable exception to this monopoly. When Engelhardt was at Leuk in 1839, on his way to Zermatt, he heard of the news of the change, which was confirmed on his

arrival at Visp. He could not bear the thought of this revolution, remembering the happy days he had spent under the parsonage roof.<sup>45</sup> Hence, on entering Zermatt, he at once directed his steps towards the well-known house, and begged to be received as a friend. This request could not be denied by the old priest, who, of course, was still at liberty to receive his friends in his own house, and Engelhardt's party stayed there during their visits in 1839 and 1841, Dr. Lauber not raising any opposition.<sup>46</sup> It was not till after Herr Gottsponer's death, in 1847, that Engelhardt was forced to avail himself of the inn, where he was very well received, and in which he soon learnt to make himself at home.

In consequence of his new position, Dr. Lauber had his house enlarged and refitted, and it is by a fortunate accident that we possess a full account of the new inn in its very first year. This is given by M. Desor, on occasion of his visit in August 1839.<sup>47</sup> 'On nous avait dit que nous pourrions loger chez le docteur, le curé ayant reçu la défense d'héberger. Nous avions hâte de faire la connaissance de ce médecin hospitalier. Un médecin doit savoir ce qui convient à des voyageurs fatigués : nous serons donc parfaitement chez lui. "Où demeure M. le docteur ?" fut la première question que nous adressâmes à la première paysanne que nous rencontrâmes. "C'est là tout près." En effet, voilà une enseigne. "Est-ce ici la maison de M. le docteur ?" demanda St[uder] à un individu qui vint au-devant de nous. "Oui, Messieurs, et c'est moi qui suis le docteur." "Comment, c'est vous ? Au reste,

pourvu que vous nous logiez bien." Sa femme était aussi accourue à notre rencontre. Elle avait l'air bien plus dégagée que son docte époux. Elle nous promit de faire de son mieux pour nous satisfaire, et en même temps elle nous fit voir plusieurs chambres proprement tenues, dans lesquelles nous primes nos quartiers. Dans le livre des étrangers, qui en était à sa première année, nous reconnûmes, parmi les cinq ou six voyageurs qui nous avaient précédés, plusieurs personnes de notre connaissance : c'étaient des botanistes et des zoologistes suisses. Décidément les touristes n'ont donc pas encore infesté cette vallée. . . . L'heure du départ avait sonné, et ce fut avec un vif regret que nous nous retournâmes faire nos préparatifs pour le retour. Il n'y a pas jusqu'à la petite auberge du docteur que nous ne regrettâmes. Elle n'est sans doute pas somptueusement meublée ; mais elle n'en est que plus en harmonie avec le caractère du lieu. Après tout, nous n'avons pas eu à nous plaindre de nos hôtes. Ils ont fait, pour nous être agréables, tout ce qui était en leur pouvoir ; Madame, surtout, s'est montrée fort prévenante. C'est une Valaisanne très-intelligente, qui parle un assez bon allemand. Elle sait faire une minestra excellente ; sa maison est tenue proprement ; ses lits sont supportables. Je vous le demande, peut-on raisonnablement exiger davantage à Zermatt ? Le lendemain matin nous quittâmes ces braves gens, après leur avoir répété que nous étions très-satisfaits de leur réception. Nous leur promîmes même de leur envoyer d'autres Messieurs, ce qui parut les satisfaire infiniment. Je ne saurais en effet

assez engager mes collègues, les naturalistes, à visiter ce lieu, persuadé que tous y trouveront une ample récolte. Quant aux touristes, fasse le ciel que la vallée de Saint-Nicolas en soit encore longtemps préservée !' Such is the description given of the first little inn at Zermatt in the very first year of its existence ; it was a little mountain hostelry, offering decent quarters and simple fare—such as there are still several (Ferpècle, for instance) in different parts of the Alps, though the increase in the number of visitors brings about gradually their transformation into Grand Hôtels. In the case of Zermatt this can be directly traced to the visit of Desor and his friends in 1839. An account of their journey was published in the course of the following winter. The effect of this narrative is thus described by M. Topffer, when comparing the relative advantages of a visit to Chamonix and to the Bernese Oberland ('*Voyages en Zigzag*'—journey of 1840, p. 231 of the 1850 edition) : 'Déjà on parle de la vallée de Zermatt, qui s'ouvre à Viège, dans le Haut-Valais, et des glaciers du Mont-Cervin, comme offrant des beautés et des horreurs d'un caractère plus grand ou plus intéressant que ce que l'on va voir à Chamounix et dans l'Oberland : c'est du moins ce que nous ont affirmé des personnes qui les ont visités cette année, et c'est ce que l'on peut inférer de la relation d'une tournée scientifique entreprise par M. Agassiz et quelques savants, qui a été insérée dernièrement dans la "*Bibliothèque Universelle*" de Genève.' M. Desor was accompanied by several friends, two of whom were famous men,

M. Agassiz and M. Bernard Studer. Their first excursion from Zermatt was up to the Riffelberg. M. Agassiz, in the first plate of his '*Etudes sur les Glaciers*' (first series, 1840), gives a panorama from this point.<sup>48</sup> Agassiz was very anxious to convert Studer on the disputed question of the causes of striated and polished faces of rock, and it was in the course of this excursion that Studer was convinced, by finding these surfaces at a great height, and even below the ice of the glacier, that water (as he had hitherto supposed) could not have been the agent, and that ice alone (as Agassiz maintained) could have produced them. '*Ce fut là le plus beau résultat du jour,*' remarks M. Desor. Next day they went up to the Schwarzsee, and, for the first time on record apparently, reached the Hörnli, coming back by the Zmutt glacier. They had intended to spend two days only at Zermatt, but were so delighted with what they had seen that (except M. Studer, who had to leave from lack of time) they spent two more, exploring the snout of the Gorner glacier, and paying a visit to its upper basin by the well-known Rothe Kümme track, now followed annually by so many tourists. Many of the plates in Agassiz's Atlas were made during these latter excursions, which are thus very important from a purely scientific point of view, as well as from their bearing on the future development of Zermatt.

Among the visitors to Zermatt in 1840 were Gottlieb Studer<sup>49</sup> and the late Mr. A. T. Malkin,<sup>50</sup> who was so taken with the place that he went there twice in the same summer. We see the results in the numerous

notes relating to the excursions from Zermatt with which the second (1842) and following editions of 'Murray' were enriched, and which are signed by his initials. I have already cited his verdict on the inn. The appearance this year of Engelhardt's 'Natur-schilderungen, Sittenzüge und wissenschaftliche Bemerkungen aus den höchsten Schweizer-Alpen, besonders in Süd-Wallis und Graubünden' (8vo., Paris, Strasburg, and Basel, pp. x., 381, with two supplements covering sixteen pages), with its nine illustrations, five relating to Zermatt, and a map, and filled with copious information, was important, as it drew the attention of travellers more and more towards the place. There was a report that the Weissthor was crossed this year for the first time in thirteen years (1842 'Murray,' p. 270). In 1841 the indefatigable Engelhardt came once more to his favourite haunt to collect fresh information and to correct the results published in his new book, and this was the last time he slept under Herr Gottsponer's friendly roof. Professor J. D. Forbes visited the place in 1841 and in 1842.<sup>51</sup> He speaks of 'the clean house of the village doctor, named Lauber, which serves as an inn,' and tells us that in 1842, in consequence of a trifling injury to his foot, 'I became a close prisoner, for nearly a week, at the little inn at Zermatt, where I was fortunate in finding much comfort and attention from the worthy Madame Lauber.'

Hence we are not surprised to find the following note appended to M. Desor's account already quoted when he published it in 1844 ('Excursions, &c.' p. 114

note): 'Depuis lors la petite maison du docteur de Zermatt a fait place à un grand et bel hôtel, où l'on est fort bien logé, dit-on. La cuisine s'est singulièrement perfectionnée; on y dine confortablement et le mouton n'est plus le seul et unique mets. Mais comme balance de ces agréments, on a—des touristes!'

In 1841, Professor Forbes crossed the St. Théodule, and made an attempt on the Riffelhorn, which failed a few feet below the top by reason of a cleft and a precipice; but his second visit in 1842 marks the third upward step Zermatt had taken since 1835.

Up to this time the only glacier expeditions which had been made round Zermatt were the St. Théodule, the Klein Matterhorn, and the Breithorn.<sup>52</sup> But there were many floating stories and traditions of passes formerly made over the glaciers in many directions.<sup>53</sup> The immediate neighbourhood of Zermatt being now pretty well surveyed, travellers went on to test the truth of these stories by attempting the traditional passes. Forbes led the way by his passage of the Col d'Hérens on August 20. 1842, from the Bricolla huts to Zermatt<sup>54</sup>—a really great feat for the time; and in the following years other passes were crossed (as we shall see), while, as the passes became known, the peaks were gradually taken in hand. At Zermatt he climbed the Riffelhorn, which, after having long passed for inaccessible, had been scaled earlier in the same summer (1842) by some English students from Fellenberg's famous school at Hofwyl, near Bern



(‘Travels,’ 314). One indication of the gradual opening up of the valley is the concise, but very clear and fairly full paragraph on Zermatt (based on Engelhardt), in the last (eighth) edition of Ebel, issued in 1843; as the Preface states that it is a ‘revised’ article, it must have appeared in some previous edition since the fifth (1823), in which the village had not yet attained to the dignity of a separate heading—possibly that of 1830, but probably that of 1841, the first after the publication of Engelhardt’s 1840 book. Another sign is that in 1843 Mr. Malkin repeated Forbes’s feat of crossing the Col d’Hérens, and even went from Zermatt to the summit of one or other of the numerous claimants to the name of Weisssthor, probably the Rofel Pass.<sup>55</sup> In 1844, however, we have a proof how little Zermatt was known as yet, in the fact that the first edition of Bädeler, while describing the valley of the Rhone in connection with the Simplon Pass, does not even allude to either of the Visp valleys! This is because it is little more than a translation of part i. of Murray—and Murray, for some reason that I have never grasped, has always, from his first edition to his latest, placed these valleys in part ii. ‘Alps of Savoy and Piedmont.’ (By 1854, Bädeler knew more, and has put in a special route for each of the Visp valleys.) In the summer of 1845, Mr. Ball, whose name is found among those of the early visitors to every part of the Alps, spent some time at Zermatt for the purpose of botanising and of studying the movements of the neighbouring glaciers. On his departure he alludes to ‘the worthy Madame Lauber, whose name

is fresh in the memory of all the early visitors to Zermatt.' On August 18 in that year, Mr. Ball alone, with an incompetent guide, made his famous passage of the Schwarzthor to Ayas, thus opening up another glacier pass to adventurous visitors to Zermatt.<sup>56</sup>

The 1846 (third) edition of Murray does not, so far as Zermatt is concerned, borrow much from Forbes, despite the obligations expressed in the Preface; but Mr. Malkin's 1843 experiences on the Col d'Hérens and the Weissthor are incorporated,<sup>57</sup> and form a valuable addition to the rather meagre account of the neighbourhood of Zermatt which Murray had as yet thought it worth while to insert. The account of the inn reads thus: '*Inn*, kept by Lauber, the village doctor, is praised by Forbes.'

The year 1847 is marked by several important events affecting Zermatt. In this year the death occurred of Herr Gottsponer, the old curé, Engelhardt's friend, and the host of so many visitors to Zermatt from 1812 onwards. Next we have a third glacier pass rediscovered, this time in a part of the chain which had hitherto remained a sealed book to travellers. This was the Allalin Pass, which was crossed from the Mattmark Alp to Täsch, on August 13, by Professor Ulrich, with Pfarrer Imseng, of Saas, Pfarrer H. Schoch, and Herr Jakob Siegfried.<sup>58</sup>

The most important event of this year was one which marks a new departure, the fourth of the steps in advance I have noted above. Three glacier passes

had been opened up since 1842 ; now the first attempt on a great peak—the highest of all—was made, for travellers were becoming more accustomed to the mysterious ice world, and were not content with passes only. This attempt was that made, on August 13, by MM. Ordinaire and Puiseux (two scientific Professors at Besançon), with Johannes Brantschen, Joseph Taugwalder, Matthias Taugwalder, and Joseph Moser, on the Höchste Spitze of Monte Rosa, in which the Silber Sattel between that summit and the Nord End was for the first time attained.<sup>59</sup>

This was the opening of the campaign against the great Zermatt peaks, which ended in 1865 with the conquest of the Matterhorn.

Professor Ulrich was so much impressed by this daring expedition that when, after having discovered and crossed, together with Pfarrer Imseng, the Ried Pass, and made the first ascent of the Ulrichshorn, on August 10, 1848,<sup>60</sup> he reached Zermatt, he made preparations at once to repeat it, and to push on farther, if possible. His expedition took place on August 12, 1848 ; Ulrich himself did not get farther than the Silber Sattel, but two of his guides, Johann Madutz, of Glarus, and Matthias zum Taugwald, of Zermatt, succeeded in reaching the more easterly of the two teeth which compose the Höchste Spitze ; the traverse to the higher or western one seemed too terrible to be undertaken.<sup>61</sup> A few days before (August 8) Matthias zum Taugwald and Stephen Biner had crossed the New Weisssthor apparently for the first time.<sup>62</sup>

Late in August 1848 Engelhardt came back to

Zermatt, after a seven years' absence, to resume his work of making exact drawings of the chief features of the surroundings, and to further revise his map—displaying uncommon energy and diligence in making excursions, when we consider that he was then seventy-three years of age. Among other walks, he visited for the first time the snout of the Gorner glacier (for previously he had always viewed the glacier from above), drawn thither by the plate in Agassiz's Atlas. On his way he met near the village an elderly English gentleman, with two companions. Remembering that he had seen the card of Dr. Forbes at St. Niklaus on the way up the valley, he ventured to address him by name, but discovered that the gentleman in question was not Prof. James Forbes of Edinburgh (who had noticed Engelhardt's work not unfavourably, with the exception of the map<sup>63</sup>), but Dr. John Forbes. During Engelhardt's absence from the village, his brother, who stayed behind, met with some slight injuries by slipping on the steps—then unguarded by any hand-rails—leading up to the door of the inn. Dr. Forbes kindly offered his services to the victim. 'This accident gave rise to an amusing conversation in French between the able and friendly physician and my wife, since the former does not speak French fluently, while the latter understands hardly any English. Our landlord, Herr Lauber, who is a surgeon, helped Dr. Forbes to the best of his power.' Dr. Forbes, in his pleasant book '*A Physician's Holiday*' (pp. 250–51), thus describes his meeting with Engelhardt when on the way down from the Riffelberg (August 30): 'When about half-way to

the village, I met, advancing up the valley on foot, the venerable Moritz Engelhardt, the celebrated Alpine traveller, and author of the minutest account that exists of the topography of this district, as well as of the best views we possess of some of its grandest scenery. Although now at an advanced age, he had once more come into Switzerland to refresh his memory of the grand scenes he had visited so often, and which he loved so much. He was now proceeding to inspect the glacier which we had just left. It is to his pencil the reader is chiefly indebted for the views of the grand chain of Monte Rosa and the Matterhorn illustrating the present work: they are taken, with slight alterations, from his "*Naturschilderungen*," published at BASEL in 1840.'

It must be borne in mind that this was the first year in which Engelhardt lodged in Dr. Lauber's inn, which he speaks of as good, and supplying such accommodation as might reasonably be expected in such a remote place, and as comfortable (i. 35; ii. 74). Dr. John Forbes gives a more detailed account of the inn in 1848: 'The inn is also of wood, but it is new and of considerable size, having a large eating-room and half a dozen or more bed-rooms on two floors. The landlord, Herr Lauber, is usually called a Doctor, but he himself disclaims any higher title than that of a bone-setter. He has never been medically educated. His wife is a neat, handy, and kind person; and although the *cuisine* is not of the first style, it is decidedly better than might be expected in a situation so wild and remote. Taking the whole of the accommodations into

account, the traveller may consider himself fortunate in being able to obtain them : and if he can command the time he will find a few days' residence at Madame Lauber's by no means disagreeable' (see his book, p. 233). Dr. Forbes himself stayed but a single day at Zermatt, which he spent in an excursion to the Riffelberg, pushing on to the Gornergrat, though his guides wished to stop on the ridge at the foot of the Riffelhorn, which was the usual goal of visitors to the Riffelberg. This is, as far as I know, the first time a traveller had gained this now famous point. Among the other visitors to Zermatt this year was M. Edouard Collombs, who in 1847 had published an important work on the traces of ancient glaciers to be found in the Vosges (Engelhardt, ii. p. 81) ; and in the Travellers' Book Engelhardt (ii. p. 95) found an account by some Englishmen of the ascent of the Stockhorn beyond the Hohthäligrat ; he mentions also several persons in the village who sold mineralogical specimens. Such is the picture offered by Zermatt the year after the Sonderbund war, and the very year when almost the whole of continental Europe was distracted by revolutionary movements. Finally, it is in this year that a name now inseparably connected with Zermatt appears for the first time in the chronicles of the village. In 1848, Joseph Seiler of Blitzingen (between Münster and Viesch) was appointed assistant priest and chaplain on the foundation of 1716, though he held the post only for a year, becoming, I believe, a member of the Company of Jesus, and dying in the college of that order at Brieg.<sup>61</sup>

In 1849 more high glacier expeditions were made around Zermatt than had perhaps ever been made before. A young Englishman, Mr. Marshall Hall, crossed, in August, to Macugnaga by a pass which seems to be the New Weissthor, and which had not, as far as is recorded, been previously crossed by a traveller. During his absence, the 'amiable Frau Lauber' had made up a party to enable his mother to ride up to the Riffelberg on the landlady's 'own nice little horse, with the luxury of a new side-saddle.' <sup>65</sup>

On August 29, the curé of Zermatt, Joseph Ruden (curé 1845-65)—to whom we owe a very handy little book, containing much local information as to Zermatt history, which has frequently been of great service to me—determined to test the truth of the tradition, familiar to him as a Zermatt man by birth, that there existed a pass over into the Einfischthal. Hence he made an expedition to the summit of what is now known as the Triftjoch, being stopped from descending on the other side by steep rock walls, but finding fragments of a ladder, which went to confirm the old tradition. <sup>66</sup> The most important glacier expeditions achieved this year (1849) were those made by a party headed by Professor Ulrich, the most indefatigable early explorer of the glacier regions of this valley. On August 9, accompanied by Herr Gottlieb Studer and Herr Gottlieb Lauterburg, and with three guides (one being the faithful Madutz, and another Franz Andermatten), he made the first recorded passage of what was later known as the Adler Pass, taking sixteen hours from Mattmark to Zermatt. The guides

went back over it the next day.<sup>67</sup> On August 15, the same party, with Madutz and two Zermatt guides, crossed from the Zmutt huts to Haudères (above Evolena) over the Col d'Hérens, finding fewer difficulties than Professor Forbes, and accomplishing the distance in about eleven hours' walking.<sup>68</sup> On August 12, the same three travellers, with Madutz, Johannes zum Taugwald, and Joseph Kronig, made an attempt on the Nord End of Monte Rosa, but did not arrive higher than a short distance above the Silber Sattel, being stopped by the sudden thinning out of the already narrow snow-crest, and by a violent wind.<sup>69</sup>

In 1849, too, at the end of July, Engelhardt paid his eighth visit to Zermatt, his great feat being the ascent of the Rothgrat (the present Gornergrat), for in his many previous excursions he does not seem to have pushed on farther than the Rothe Kümme (ii. p. 10). Lauber's inn was very full indeed this year. Mrs. Marshall Hall complains that her party could get no rooms in the house, and had to put up with two dismal dirty rooms in an uninhabited house not far off,<sup>70</sup> but as room had been reserved for Engelhardt's party they fared well. At the *table d'hôte* there were many guests, specially English travellers, and Engelhardt was unable to retain his incognito, for every one there had heard of the patriarch of Zermatt. He modestly alluded to the praise awarded him by Professor James Forbes in his book, and to his meeting with Dr. John Forbes at Zermatt the previous summer. This led one of the English guests to tell him that the latter also had written a book, and had spoken of him in a very complimentary



manner. The work was produced, and the old man read with delight the passage from it which I have quoted above, and gazed with great pleasure on the reduced copies of his illustrations with which Dr. Forbes had adorned his book.<sup>71</sup> Again and again this year Engelhardt remarks on the fast increasing number of visitors to Zermatt, and praises the inn, while hinting that it was uncomfortably overcrowded (ii. p. 117). It was in this year, too, that Mr. Ruskin visited Zermatt, when his imagination was at once enchained by the Matterhorn. In the glowing words which form the opening of the chapter in 'Stones of Venice' on the 'Wall Veil' (original 1851 edition, vol. i. p. 57), he has set before us his first impressions of the great peak. A more elaborate portrait is drawn in the famous chapters on mountains in the fourth volume of 'Modern Painters' (originally issued in 1856).

The year 1850 was comparatively uneventful in the annals of Zermatt. On August 7 another passage of the New Weissthor was made—the party consisting of the Rev. Edmund Docker and Mr. J. E. Blackwell; but the names of the guides are not mentioned. It is stated that they followed the route now usually taken.<sup>72</sup>

A description of the inn in this year is given by the authoress of 'A Lady's Tour round Monte Rosa' (published 1859, p. 30). 'We were fortunate enough to secure a bedroom in the little wooden inn belonging to the village doctor, Herr Lauber, which was then the only house for the reception of travellers in Zermatt. It was tolerably comfortable, but unfortunately the

floors looked as if they had never been washed since the house was built. The *salle-à-manger* was poorly furnished with rough deal tables and benches. We were supplied, however, with a very fair supper of several dishes, but all of one material, obtained no doubt from the same poor sheep. We had soup made of mutton, and then mutton boiled, mutton roasted, and mutton broiled. We found, on our arrival, two Englishmen and a Frenchman sitting in a state of despondency in the *salle-à-manger*, which they had been unable to quit all day; and they looked most significantly at one another and smiled when they saw us arrive in such bad weather.'

This rather repelling account is no doubt partly due to the bad weather in which the authoress had been making her way up the valley all day; for her later excursions to the ridge at the foot of the Riffelhorn ('then considered the finest point of view for seeing the Monte Rosa chain, but it has since been superseded by the Gorner Grat,' adds the writer, pp. 33-34, referring to her experiences in 1856) and to the Schwarzsee, gave her more favourable impressions of the place and its surroundings.

This year Engelhardt did not go to Zermatt, making a hasty visit to Saas only. While speaking of the new house built there by Zurbrücken, he mentions that a new inn was also being built at Zermatt. Its proprietor was Herr Joseph Anton Clemens, of Visp, a member of the Valais Legislature and of the Federal Assembly, and brother of the local postmaster (ii. 125). The era of competition is approaching, and

Herr Lauber's monopoly, which he does not seem to have abused, is drawing to an end.

In 1851, another old pass was reopened by travellers. This was the Old Weissthor, which was traversed, on August 27, by Herr Adolf Schlagintweit with one of the Taugwalders.<sup>73</sup> On August 22, that gentleman, accompanied by his brother Hermann, with the guides Peter Taugwalder, Peter Inderbinner, and Hans Joseph zum Taugwald, made an attempt on Monte Rosa by way of the Silber Sattel. With the exception of the last-named guide, the whole party, after encountering great difficulties, succeeded (in nearly two hours from the Sattel) in attaining the more easterly of the two points which make up the Höchste Spitze—the one climbed by Ulrich's guides in 1848, and which was now for the first time ascended by a traveller. According to the measurements made, the western point was higher by a height estimated at rather over twenty-three feet (slightly over seven mètres), but two teeth on the ridge between, and the steepness of the rocks, prevented them from making the attempt to reach it.<sup>74</sup> These expeditions, and the observations made in the course of their stay at Zermatt (August 19–27, 1851), are described in their work entitled '*Neue Untersuchungen über die physikalische Geographie und Geologie der Alpen*' (Leipzig, 1854), which contains many views and maps. These sections form a useful supplement to Engelhardt's work. The book contains, too, much information, with maps and views, as to the eastern and southern sides of Monte Rosa.<sup>75</sup>

In the fourth (1851) edition of Murray, the entry as to the inn stands as in 1846, with the addition, signed by one W. J. F., 'and is particularly clean and good.' There is also a detailed account of the passage of the Weisssthor, on July 16, in 1849 or 1850, by 'J. C. A.,' a long extract from Ruskin about the Matterhorn, and some advice as to the St. Théodule, based on some miserable experiences in 1845—these seem to be the chief improvements on the 1846 edition, so far as Zermatt is concerned. But Murray is far excelled in point of clearness and fulness as regards Zermatt, by the extremely good account of the village and its surroundings which appeared in 1851 in G. von Escher's '*Neuestes Handbuch für Reisende in der Schweiz*' (an unsuccessful attempt to continue the traditions of Ebel), in which the information contained in Professor Ulrich's 1850 pamphlet and other works is admirably set forth.

The most important event of 1851 at Zermatt is the last visit of Engelhardt, of which he was able to publish any description.<sup>76</sup> It was but short, and was devoted to a careful visit (apparently his first) to the upper part of the Gorner Glacier, for it would seem that as he advanced in years he undertook more difficult expeditions—the explanation doubtless being that men were getting more accustomed to glaciers and less afraid of them than formerly. He records with great satisfaction his meeting in the inn with the Schlagintweits, just back from their Monte Rosa expedition—this, of course, specially interested him, and their previous works had made their names familiar

to him. He makes special mention of passing, on entering the village, the rising walls of the new inn of Herr Clemens (ii. p. 230). He also tells us how with what kindly feelings the inhabitants of the district regarded him, for they believed that his 1840 book had done much to attract strangers to their wild valleys. As he was going up the valley in 1851, on his way to Zermatt, he relates that a boy offered him his hand and addressed him by name. The boy's employer, an Englishman, coming down from the village, inquired who that might be, to which Engelhardt's own guide, a young man named Alexander Albrecht, of Visp (who, though a guide, had gladly agreed to come with him as porter, as the fact of having been with Engelhardt would do much to recommend any companion of his to future travellers), replied that the people called Engelhardt the Father of the Valley, because, since he published his book, so many foreign visitors had found their way to the place.<sup>76</sup>

A hut was being built this year on the crest of the St. Théodule. It had been begun in 1851, for Herr Hermann Schlagintweit mentions, when speaking of his stay of two and a half days (August 27-29, 1851) on the Col, that M. Meynet had just begun to build a house, but that the tent put up as a temporary shelter was placed at his disposal by M. Meynet, to whom he was indebted for many courtesies.

*A propos* of this hut, Engelhardt tells a curious tale. It seems that, to meet the wants of the increasing throng of tourists, one Minette of Val Tournanche set up a tent on the pass in summer, and supplied re-

freshments to the passers-by. An Englishman in the diplomatic service (Engelhardt's thoughts run at once to Robert Peel, who was English minister to the Confederation at the time of the Sonderbund War in 1847) was so delighted with this unexpected welcome that he spent the night there, paying twenty francs for his night's lodging, and offered to advance 6,000 francs for the construction of a house on the pass—an offer which was accepted. This story Engelhardt declares he heard in Zermatt (ii. p. 243). In the 1854 *Bäderer* (p. 257) we read of the humble hut which a Val Tournanche man had put up in 1852 on the pass, and wherein he sold wine, coffee, bread and cheese; and it is explained that he had been encouraged to take the place by the gift of 1,000 francs from an Englishman. How far the latter part of this tale is true I cannot say, but it is an undoubted fact that Mr. (now Justice) Wills, on September 14, 1852, found the man and his tent on the pass: 'On a spot slightly sheltered by some rocks, which jut up from the surface of the snow, was pitched a wretched tent, about ten or twelve feet long, and six or seven high, inhabited by an old man and his wife, who, during the summer months, dwelt at the crest of the Col, and in this frail and dreary abode braved the terrors of the tempest and the snow storm. . . . The man pointed out to us, with great pride, a rude structure, built of loose stones, which it was the labour of his days to rear, and which, when finished, was to contain four bedrooms. It was already half-way up to the first floor. This chalet was to be dignified with the title of an hotel, and was to bear the appro-

priate title of the "Bouquetin." Mr. Wills gives many interesting particulars with regard to this strange man, who appears to have struck him very much. He asked for a subscription towards the building of his house on the glacier, and thought more of making known the glories of a sunrise on the St. Théodule than of the mere pecuniary gain. "Messieurs," he said, "je travaille pour l'humanité." He intended to go to Paris and London to collect funds for his enterprise, but was never heard of again after leaving Val Tournanche, having probably been murdered. 'The harmless and adventurous enthusiast has disappeared, and the cabin, in the midst of the glacier, remains as he left it, and will remain so until the violence of the storm has prostrated its walls, or some successor shall be found to inherit the old man's enthusiasm and love of nature.' 77

Mr. Wills's name appears for the first time this year in connection with Zermatt. It makes us realise that tentative mountaineering is over, and that the real conquest of the Alps is about to begin. On Sept. 11, 1852, with his friends Mr. R. C. Heath, F., H., and Pfarrer Imseng, he crossed the Allalin Pass from Saas to Zermatt, and on August 30, 1853, with Mr. Heath's brother and Pfarrer Imseng, made that passage of the Adler Pass which is so famous in Alpine history.<sup>78</sup> It is true that neither pass was made for the first time; but the latter now received a name, and both were introduced to the notice of English mountaineers, who, save Prof. Forbes and Mr. Ball, do not seem to have previously paid much attention to Zermatt. The

account, too, of the minor excursions round Zermatt is very full and interesting (pp. 188-201).

On August 25, 1852, Professor Ulrich and Herr G. Studer crossed the New Weissthor, their passage being long considered the first by travellers, doubtless because it was minutely described by the former gentleman.<sup>79</sup>

The opening of the new hôtel—the Hôtel du Mont Cervin—was, however, the great event of the season of 1852 in Zermatt. Not merely was there now more room for visitors, but the competition was certain to improve the accommodation. Prof. Ulrich and Herr Studer would not abandon their old friend Herr Lauber: Mr. Wills, however, who was a stranger in Zermatt, went to the new inn, which he calls 'clean and hospitable' (p. 152). It is said that the Mont Cervin originally had only fourteen beds,<sup>80</sup> and we have seen that in 1848 Lauber's inn had only half-a-dozen bedrooms or so.

The 1852 (fifth) edition of Murray shows distinct signs of improvement. The excursions are classified better, an entirely new one, the Unter Rothhorn, is added, while the walks to the summits of the Weissthor and St. Théodule and back, and to the top of the Cima di Jazzi (name not given till the 1856 edition) are recommended. 'F.' advises good walkers to go completely round the top of the Riffelberg. The exit of the stream from the Gorner Glacier and the beautiful serpentine gorge through which it flows are specially noticed. The brief note, 'A new Inn was built in 1852,' sums up the great practical improvement which 1852 had brought about in Zermatt. In this year, too,



appeared Engelhardt's second book, 'Das Monte-Rosa- und Matterhorn-(Mont Cervin)-Gebirg, aus der Inseite seines Erhebungsbogen gen Nord; seine Ausläufer und Umgrenzung, besonders der Saasgrat mit dem Mischabeldom über dem Gletscherkrater von Fee' (8vo. Paris and Strasburg, pp. xxviii. 247 (with a supplement of 6 pages, two illustrations, and a map). It contains his final conclusions on all the topographical points which he had been so carefully investigating for the past seventeen years and, taken with his former work, is a veritable storehouse of information as to the days when Zermatt was on the high road to becoming a mountaineering centre. I am much surprised that his works have not attracted far more attention than they have hitherto done, the two Forbes being apparently the only English writers who have in any way acknowledged his very great services in the matter of the topography of Zermatt.

1853 seems to have been a very quiet year at Zermatt. Besides Mr. Wills's passage of the Adler, noted above, the only record of any interest I have found is the notice of the passage of the Col d'Hérens from Zermatt *alone* by a Scotch gentleman, Mr. Macpherson.<sup>81</sup> The mountains were clearly beginning to lose their terrors: but this quiet was but the calm before the rush of travellers set in which has never ceased since.

The year 1854 marks the beginning of the rush. Two new inns, the publication of two new editions of guide-books much improved as regards Zermatt, and the commencement of the English assault on Monte

Rosa, are all events which show that we are nearing an important epoch. The hut on the Saint Théodule seems this year to have become a reality (Murray, 1856, p. 308; 1858, p. 302) the proprietor, one Meynet, being thus described by Mr. Hinchliff, on occasion of his visit next year: 'We found the hut in the possession of a very fine old man, who must be either the ghost, or merely the successor, of him who, Mr. Wills has reason to think, perished by some unfair means. Our friend was very busy about his house; and its situation, at more than eleven thousand feet high, did not seem at all to cool his satisfaction about it: he said he intended to have another room ready for the next season, and he promised to make the roof waterproof at the same time.'<sup>82</sup> In 1854, too, Dr. Lauber, being unable to stand the competition of the new hôtel, sold his inn to M. Alexandre Seiler, of Blitzingen, who had become acquainted with Zermatt through his near relative (I think his brother), mentioned before as holding, from 1848 to 1849, the office of assistant priest at Zermatt. M. Seiler enclosed the old wooden house within a stone casing, and greatly improved it in many ways. Even now, there may be discerned in the Monte Rosa Hôtel, remains of the old house—the first inn at Zermatt.<sup>83</sup> This year, too, there was opened an inn built on the Riffelberg by three Zermatt men—the curé Ruden, Joseph Kronig, and Matthias Welschen, and leased to M. Seiler.<sup>84</sup> This was the Riffelhaus, the erection of which gave a great impetus to attacks on the peaks at the head of the Gorner glacier, though it was at first of no

great size, for the 1854 Bädeler (p. 256) merely says that the curé had caused a little house to be built in which refreshments could be had.

Considerable improvements appear in the 1854 (sixth) and 1856 (seventh) editions of Murray. Here are the statements as regards the inns: 'H. de Monte Rosa (Dr. Lauber's),<sup>85</sup> very comfortable, original wooden house [1856 adds 'enlarged 1856']. H. du Mont Cervin (Clemenz), of stone, built 1852; both good and clean, well provided with maps and guide-books, the works of Studer, &c., and with collections of plants, insects, and minerals' (pp. 294, 302). 'An inn has been built on the back of the Riffelberg to accommodate travellers' (1854). 'A good inn has now been built upon a part of the Riffelberg, at an elevation of more than 7,000 feet (1856).' The extract from Ruskin is omitted. The section 'Excursions from Zermatt' has been much improved, particularly the Riffelberg bit, it being noted in 1854 that the Gorner Grat having a finer view than the saddle between it and the Riffelhorn (the saddle itself is oddly called the Riffelberg) 'is consequently the point to which tourists are now commonly taken'—this, I believe, being the first occasion on which the Gorner Grat, as a distinct point of view, is recommended to ordinary travellers. It is mentioned in 1852, in the course of F.'s proposal to go completely round the top of the Riffelberg, 'surmounting the Rothe Kümme and Gorner Grat, which are higher parts of the same mountain.' The initials (even in some cases Mr. Malkin's) affixed to various paragraphs had dis-

appeared in 1854, though in some cases the paragraphs themselves still appear between marks of quotation, being as yet not quite absorbed into the text of the book. The 1854 book first gives a folding panorama from the Gorner Grat (in which the Höchste Spitze—strictly speaking the Nord End—is named both Monte Rosa and Gornerhorn, the latter name being dropped only in the 1861 edition), to which that of 1856 adds a map of the Monte Rosa district, and that very odd cut of the ‘summit of Monte Rosa’,<sup>86</sup> which lingers on as late as the 1867 edition. We are told, too, in 1854, that the works of Brockedon and the two Forbes’s have drawn the attention of English travellers to Zermatt—a statement true in itself, but quite ignoring Engelhardt’s work, which helped the Forbes’s so much, while Brockedon only devoted two pages to the village in describing his passing visit. In 1856 we are told that this valley ‘is now much frequented by travellers: 560 visited one hôtel in 1854.’ The 1854 Bädeler devotes two pages (pp. 256–7) to the village and the St. Théodule, agreeing in most points with Murray, but giving its information even then in a more compressed form.

Up to 1854, English mountaineers were quite left behind by their foreign rivals, so far at least as concerns the Monte Rosa group, for, with the exceptions of the Breithorn (1821), the Col d’Hérens (1842 and 1843), and the New Weisssthor (1849 and 1850), they had been content to follow in the tracks of other travellers. The year 1854 saw, however, the beginnings of the change, in consequence of which, as is well

known, all the other great peaks and passes around Zermatt have been conquered by Englishmen.

On September 1, Mr. Robert Fowler, with Arnold Kehrli, of Mühlestdalen, in the Gadmenthal, made the first passage by a traveller of the dreaded Triftjoch from Zermatt to the Einfischthal, taking fourteen and a quarter hours, including halts, from Zermatt to Ayer. The pass was repeated by Mr. Chapman in 1855.<sup>87</sup> In July 1854, Mr. D. S. Bird made an attempt on Monte Rosa, and reached a point within 100 feet of the summit—presumably the eastern peak. On September 1, 1854, Messrs. G. and C. Smyth went up to the Silber Sattel, and thence made the third ascent of the eastern and lower tooth of the Höchste Spitze of Monte Rosa—a peak which was again reached on September 11 by Mr. E. S. Kennedy, after an attempt on September 8, when his guide only reached the summit, he himself remaining sixty feet below. Now, of course, this ascent was nothing new, but what was new was the resolve of Messrs. Smyth to abandon the old route from the Silber Sattel, and to try a new one from the west, by which the western and highest tooth might be reached, without the necessity of forcing a way along the ridge between the two teeth, which appeared so terrible to all the early explorers. This is the route now commonly followed, and it seems so obvious that one is surprised that no one should have tried it before. By this way the first ascent of the highest pinnacle of Monte Rosa was successfully achieved on July 31, 1855, by a party consisting of Messrs. G. and C. Smyth, Hudson, Birkbeck,

and Stevenson, with Ulrich Lauener, of Lauterbrunnen, and three Zermatt guides.<sup>88</sup> A fortnight later (August 13 or 14) the ascent was repeated by Herren Weilenmann and Bucher, together with two English and one German gentlemen, with five guides; and the proud peak, which had so long defied the efforts of the best climbers of the day, was thoroughly conquered, and has gradually sunk ever since in the eyes of those who like a good climb, though not in the opinion of those who have no objection to a fine view.

The conquest of Monte Rosa is an epoch in the history of Zermatt, and it marks the opening of a new period, for within the next ten years all the other great peaks round Zermatt were ascended.<sup>89</sup> By a curious coincidence it was in this very year that Engelhardt, an old man of eighty, paid his last visit to Zermatt, three years before his death.<sup>90</sup> The inhabitants called him 'the father of the valley,' and rightly, since for twenty years he had been busily engaged in exploring and describing the Zermatt valley. He may be said to have laid there the foundation on which the Alpine Club has built, and it is one of those striking accidents which occur in real life nearly as often as in novels, that the same year witnessed the last visit of Engelhardt to Zermatt and the feat of climbing which led to the minute exploration of the higher regions of the district for which he had worked so steadily and so well.

By 1855 Zermatt had become a mountaineering centre, and is not unfitly called (by the 1854 Murray) the 'young Chamouni.' I have tried to trace out the

steps by which it gradually attained that position. In that history four men stand out above their fellows, and we who have profited by their labours and tried to carry out their aims should not forget their services or fail to render them the honour due unto their name. Pfarrer Gottsponer and Dr. Lauber on one side, Christian Moritz Engelhardt and Melchior Ulrich on the other, are the real 'makers' of Zermatt as a, perhaps *the*, mountaineering centre in Switzerland.

## NOTES

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1 I make this limitation in order to cover such cases as those of the Thomases of Bex, father and son, who between 1753 and 1762 visited Zermatt to collect plants for the celebrated botanist and poet, A. von Haller, by whom they had been trained for this object. Von Haller published notices of their researches in several essays, incorporating all the information supplied by them in the second edition of his chief botanical work, published in 1768 in three folio volumes under the title of '*Historia Stirpium indigenarum Helvetiæ*' (see B. Studer's '*Geschichte der physischen Geographie der Schweiz bis 1815*,' pp. 251, 394-95, 646).

2 For the general history of Zermatt, I have drawn most of my information from two sources. One is a small octavo volume of 184 pages, published in 1869 at Ingenbohl (Kanton Schwyz) by Joseph Ruden, of Zermatt, Pfarrer of his native village from 1845 to 1865. It is entitled '*Familien-Statistik der löblichen Pfarrei von Zermatt*,' and contains not only many genealogical details as to the Zermatt families, extinct or still flourishing, but many local facts taken from parish archives, &c. The other is a more general work. It is the great collection of documents, relating to the Valais which the Abbé Gremaud of Fribourg has published in five volumes (xxix. to xxxiii., issued between 1878 and 1884), of the '*Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire de la Suisse Romande*.' This invaluable store of materials for Valais history bears the general title '*Documents relatifs à l'histoire du Vallais*,' but has unluckily not been continued at present beyond the year 1375 (when the great family



of La Tour-Châtillon was finally expelled from the valley), not from want of matter, which is very abundant, but apparently from sheer want of space, as the collection was originally intended to take in all Valais documents before 1500.

3 It is interesting to call to mind that the first mention of Chamonix occurs in a deed of about 1091, by which the valley was given to the monastery of St. Michel de la Cluse (near Turin) by Aymon, Count of the Genevois (see vol i. pp. 1-2 of the collection of documents published by M. André Perrin of Chambéry in 1879-83 under the title of 'Le Prieuré de Chamonix'). We first hear of Grindelwald in a document of doubtful genuineness dated July 21, 1146, in which the Emperor Conrad II. confirms the monastery of Interlaken in its rights and possessions, and bestows on it further Grindelwald and Iseltwald. We hear of it again in a genuine document of 1180-81, in which Bishop Roger of Lausanne confirms to the same monastery the possession of the church at Grindelwald, originally built of wood and consecrated by Bishop Amadeus (bishop 1145-59), now rebuilt of stone by Bishop Roger and re-consecrated (see 'Fontes Rerum Bernensium,' vol. i. pp. 422, 466).

4 Gremaud, vol. xxx. pp. 330, 579.

5 *Ibid.* vol. xxx. pp. 426, 428-29.

6 *Ibid.* vol. xxxi. p. 291.

7 *Ibid.* vol. xxxi. p. 470. M. Gremaud considers that John was a Zermatt man as well as his father.

8 *Ibid.* vol. xxxii. p. 81.

9 *Ibid.* vol. xxxii. p. 547.

10 *Ibid.* vol. xxxiii. p. 163.

11 *Ibid.* vol. xxxiii. pp. 214, 219.

12 *Ibid.* vol. xxxiii. p. 262.

13 *Ibid.* vol. xxxiii. pp. 345-46.

14 See note 50 of the paper on 'Swiss Travel and Swiss Guide-Books' in this volume (pp. 178-9).

15 For the history of this family see the papers published in vols. xxiv. xxvi. and xxxiv. of the 'Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire de la Suisse Romande,' especially vol. xxiv. p. 297 n.

16 See, for the following facts, Pfarrer Ruden's book, pp. 114 *et seq.*

17 'Geschichte von Wallis,' vol. ii. p. 86.

18 *Ibid.*

19 Pfarrer Ruden's book, pp. 126 *et seq.*

20 The text of the constitution of this guild or 'Bauernzunft' is dated 1571, and is to be published *in extenso* by Professor Andreas Heusler in his invaluable 'Rechtsquellen des Cantons Wallis,' now appearing in the 'Zeitschrift für Schweizerisches Recht' (new series), vol. vii. *et seq.*, especially vol. vii. pp. 174, 242.

21 'Alpine Journal,' vol. vi. pp. 99-100.

22 See Ruden, pp. 111 *et seq.*

23 See Mr. Conway's interesting translation, 'Alpine Journal,' vol. xii. pp. 380-90.

24 For the early history of this pass see note 50 of the previous article in this volume (pp. 178-80).

25 See the documents and comments on it in Signor L. Vaccarone's 'Le Vie delle Alpi Occidentali negli antichi Tempi,' pp. 73-75, 118-21.

26 *Ibid.* pp. 116-17, cf. p. 74-5; and 'Bollettino del Club Alpino Italiano,' 1881, pp. 191-92.

27 See 'Bollettino del Club Alpino Italiano,' 1884, pp. 225-30.

28 'Voyages dans les Alpes,' vol. iv. pp. 373-74.

29 'Der Monte Rosa,' pp. 123-24; see 'Alpine Journal,' vol. v. p. 137; also King's 'Italian Valleys of the Pennine Alps,' pp. 271, 437.

30 'Alpine Journal,' vol. xii. p. 75.

31 'Voyages dans les Alpes,' vol. iv. p. 383.

32 *Ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 389, 408-38.

33 See De Saussure's 'Voyages,' vol. iv. pp. 442-43; B. Studer, *op. cit.* 646.

34 'Alpine Journal,' vol. vii. p. 436.

35 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers,' second series, vol. ii. p. 260.

36 Hirzel-Escher's 'Wanderungen in weniger besuchte Alpengegenden der Schweiz und ihren nächsten Umgebungen.' Zürich, 1829, p. 56.

37 I can find no published account of this attempt.

38 'Journals of Excursions in the Alps' (1833), pp. 234-36.

39 'Passage du Rothhorn' (1835), pp. 4, 6. M. Viridet published the same year the first part of a work entitled 'Viège, Saint-Nicolas et Saas,' which contains much information about Visp. I have not been able to find out whether the second part, dealing with the two Visp valleys, ever appeared—it is not included in the copy preserved in the library of the Alpine Club. Engelhardt himself, of whom we shall presently hear so much, says in his 1840 book (p. 4) that he possessed the 'Passage du Rothhorn,' but had not yet been able to procure the other book on the Visp valleys, from which it would seem that the second part never came out at all.

40 Engelhardt's 'Naturschilderungen,' pp. 182-83.

41 'Naturschilderungen,' published 1840, quoted in this article as I.; and 'Das Monte-Rosa- und Matterhorn-Gebirg,' issued in 1852, quoted as II.

42 This allusion to the name of the supposed curé—which was actually Peter de la Coste—fixes the date of the visit from which the information in this paragraph was derived. De la Coste was never curé of Zermatt at all, but only chaplain on a special foundation of 1716—an office he held from 1823 to 1831 (see Pfarrer Ruden's book already quoted, p. 106). This would seem to point to Brockedon as the author of the description, though in his Journals he does not mention the name of his host. Gottspöner was curé from 1812 to 1839.

43 See Pfarrer Ruden's book, p. 54. The Lauber family has existed in Zermatt for the last two hundred years or so. Joseph Lauber was born in 1787 and married, in 1826, Maria Zurtannen of 'Pumath,' probably the Pommat valley or Val Formazza, at the head of which are the Falls of the Tosa, the inn close to them being now kept by a Zertanna.

44 See Engelhardt, vol. i. p. 183; vol. ii. p. 35.

45 Engelhardt gives other reasons for disliking the change, arguing that while the conveniences of having an inn are incontestable, yet in such a place as Zermatt, whither no frequented path leads and there is only one other way out, by a difficult and

rarely traversed pass, naturalists and artists will be the only visitors; and as their means are but moderate and their requirements simple, the curé's house offers great advantages. Dr. Lauber, he adds, would therefore do well not to insist on his monopoly but to lower his prices.

46 It will, however, be admitted that it must have been trying for Dr. Lauber to find his house not patronised by the oldest *habitué* of Zermatt, and all the more so as it stood on the site of the present Monte Rosa hôtel (it is said that a part of the old house still exists built into the newer one), while the parsonage house (which dates from 1576) stands not very far away. But, doubtless, Dr. Lauber was an acquaintance of Engelhardt, and made allowance for the natural feelings of the old man for the curé who had for several years received him into his house.

47 'Excursions et Séjours dans les Glaciers,' pp. 65-6, 113-14.

48 Mr. Ball ('Western Alps,' p. 297) remarks: 'The earlier visitors to Zermatt were directed to the Breithorn as the highest part of the range. Long afterwards the Lyskamm was supposed to be the true summit; and it is so figured in the plates to the "Études sur les Glaciers," by M. Agassiz.' I am not aware what Mr. Ball's authority was for the former of these statements—possibly the fact that (save the Klein Matterhorn and the minor points of Monte Rosa) the Breithorn was the first of the great Zermatt peaks to be ascended, though not frequently till 1861 (see 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers, second series, vol. i. p. 358; vol. ii. p. 260). With all deference, I venture to think that in the second statement he assigns a wrong reason for the undoubted fact that M. Agassiz, in his 1840 plate, does call the true Lyskamm by the name of 'Cime du Mont Rose.' The true reason for this is, I believe, the fact that the Zermatt people commonly gave this name to the true Lyskamm—possibly because it seemed to them the highest point of the range. A careful observer, however, like Engelhardt, while calling the true Monte Rosa the Gornerhorn, and saying that the true Lyskamm was called Mont Rose by the local men, states again and again in both his books, in the clearest terms, that the

Gornerhorn was the highest peak of the entire chain, and this name is commonly used by him in describing the early attempts on the Höchste Spitze, which every one then acknowledged to be the culminating-point of the range (see vol. i. p. 200, and supplement, p. xxi.; and vol. ii. pp. 41, 93, 153-56). Thus the reason for, as we think, misapplying the name Monte Rosa, which Mr. Ball would seem to consider was the generally accepted one, was in reality only the local usage of the Zermatt men; though the fact of the misapplication is certain. It is probable that, until the publication of the Dufour map, the names of the higher peaks of this range were not at all well fixed; we find the name Gornerhorn applied to the Nord End (by mistake for the Höchste Spitze) in the panorama from the Gornergrat given by the 1854, 1856, and 1858 editions of Murray; the name vanishing only in the entirely remodelled edition of 1861. It is certainly amusing to find that while the true Lyskamm was called Silberbast (a name appropriate enough for the peak; see 'Alpine Journal,' vol. xiii. p. 555), the Zwillinge—to which Agassiz, (on his plate i.) and Engelhardt (on his 1835 plate) give the name Lyskamm—were only christened by their present names by Canon Berchtold of Sion during his explorations and measurements (this name appears in the Schlagintweits' 1854 book, both in text, on the map, and in the illustrations), another proposed name having been 'Weisse Brüder.' See Engelhardt, vol. ii. pp. 42, 142, 233.

49 See his work 'Ueber Eis und Schnee,' vol. ii. pp. 18, 197.

50 'Alpine Journal,' vol. x. p. 44; vol. xiv. pp. 235-36.

51 'Travels in the Alps of Savoy,' pp. 308-9, 319-20.

52 As I am writing of Zermatt only and not of Monte Rosa in particular, I pass over all the attempts and ascents of different peaks of Monte Rosa from the Italian side, from the first trial by Morozzo before 1788 (De Saussure, vol. iv. p. 320; 'Alpine Journal,' vol. ix. p. 496) to the ascent of the Signal Kuppe by Gnifetti in 1843.

53 See Mr. Ball's statements, the results of his inquiries in 1845, as to the passes from Zermatt to the neighbouring glens ('Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers,' first series, pp. 152-53, 158-60).

54 'Travels,' pp. 296-308, 352; also a letter in the 'Life of Forbes,' by Principal Shairp, pp. 287-89. May I explain that the pass just west of the point marked 3,595, crossed twice by my party on Sept. 13-14, 1871, on the way to and from the Dent Blanche (no hut existing then on the Stockje) lies exactly over the rocks by which Forbes in 1842 tried to effect his descent? (see 'Alpine Journal,' vol. v. p. 277; Conway's 'Zermatt Pocket Book,' p. 101; and Forbes's 'Travels,' pp. 304-5). At the time we made it, we knew nothing of Forbes's attempt, and made the pass in order to avoid the considerable detour which a traverse of the Col d'Hérens would have entailed. I examined the spot again in 1887 when crossing the Col d'Hérens, and my recollections were entirely confirmed. We named the pass originally Pollingerjoch in honour of the struggles of Alois Pollinger, then a young porter, now one of the leading Valais guides; but I am glad to say that the more appropriate name, Wandfluhjoch, has superseded the original appellation.

55 'Alpine Journal,' vol. x. pp. 44-45; 1846 Murray, pp. 190, 191. I am not writing here the traditional history of the Zermatt passes. For the Weissthor I may refer my readers to Mr. Conway's paper, 'Alpine Journal,' vol. xi. pp. 193-202; and to the two very careful and exhaustive papers by Dr. Schulz in the 'Jahrbuch' of the S.A.C., vol. xvii. pp. 243-55; vol. xviii. pp. 172-83. I cannot resist transcribing the conversation (August 1839) between M. Desor and his guide Joseph Brantschen of Zermatt, when the former, having learnt that it was possible to go to Macugnaga by the 'Porte Blanche,' proposed to the latter that he should guide the party across: 'Mais il ne voulut pas en entendre parler et me dit d'un ton décidé: "C'est impossible, Messieurs, on ne le traverse que pour aller en pèlerinage à Macugnaga; mais vous, Messieurs, vous ne faites pas de pèlerinage." "Le glacier serait-il par hasard moins dangereux lorsqu'on le traverse pour aller en pèlerinage?" lui demandai-je. "C'est certain," me répondit-il, avec un air de profonde conviction; "je ne voudrais jamais en tenter le passage dans un autre but"' (Desor, pp. 76-7). As to other narratives of the crossing of this pass by pilgrims to the Sacro Monte of Varallo

see Schott, 'Die Deutschen Colonien in Piemont,' 1842, pp. 61-2; and Forbes, p. 346.

56 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers,' 1st series, pp. 155-90.

57 It may be noted, as a curiosity, that he speaks of the Hörnli as the 'Kleinerhorn,' a name which appears in the 1846 and 1851 editions, but which is altered, in accordance with the copy of the latter annotated by J. D. G. for Mr. Murray's use (now in my possession through the courtesy of Mr. Murray), in that of 1852.

58 Melchior Ulrich's 'Die Seitenthäler des Wallis,' pp. 54-57; and the fuller account in the second series of 'Berg- und Gletscherfahrten,' pp. 98-100, 109-18.

59 Engelhardt, I., supplement xxi.: 'Die Seitenthäler,' p. 67; 'Berg- und Gletscherfahrten,' first series, pp. 252-54 (an account given to Prof. Ulrich by the travellers the very evening of their return to Zermatt); 'Alpine Journal,' vol. viii. Appendix, p. 31. M. Puisseux was more fortunate the year following in another mountain group, for in the summer of 1848 he made the first undoubted ascent of the highest point of the Pelvoux in Dauphiné.

60 'Die Seitenthäler,' pp. 57-60; 'Berg- und Gletscherfahrten,' second series, pp. 118-30.

61 'Berg- und Gletscherfahrten,' first series, pp. 254-65; 'Die Seitenthäler,' pp. 67-72; Engelhardt, vol. i., supplement xxi.; 'Alpine Journal,' vol. viii. Appendix, pp. 31-2.

62 Studer's 'Ueber Eis und Schnee,' vol. ii. p. 196.

63 See Forbes's 'Travels,' p. 351; Engelhardt, vol. ii. p. 70.

64 Ruden, p. 106.

65 'Alpine Journal,' vol. ix. pp. 174-75.

66 Studer, 'Ueber Eis und Schnee,' vol. ii. p. 211.

67 'Die Seitenthäler,' pp. 60-66; 'Berg- und Gletscherfahrten,' second series, pp. 130-43. It is curious to learn that they had wished to cross to Täsch by the Fee glacier, but they were assured this was impossible, and the Alphubel Pass was not effected till 1860 by Mr. Leslie Stephen.

68 'Die Seitenthäler,' pp. 79-85.

69 See 'Berg und Gletscherfahrten,' first series, pp. 265-75; 'Die Seitenthäler,' pp. 72-79; Studer, 'Ueber Eis und Schnee,'

vol. ii. pp. 22-26; Engelhardt, vol. ii. p. 94; 'Alpine Journal,' vol. viii. Appendix, p. 32.

70 'Alpine Journal,' vol. ix. p. 174.

71 Engelhardt, vol. ii. pp. 104-5.

72 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers,' first series (2nd and following editions), p. 160 n.

73 'Neue Untersuchungen über die physikalische Geographie und Geologie der Alpen,' pp. 81-83; cf. Jahrbuch des S.A.C., vol. xvii. pp. 250, 252. Ball, 'Western Alps,' p. 318. 'Alpine Journal,' vol. xi. p. 197.

74 'Neue Untersuchungen,' pp. 74-79. See, too, 'Berg- und Gletscherfahrten,' first series, pp. 276-79; Engelhardt, vol. ii. p. 243; 'Alpine Journal,' vol. viii. Appendix, p. 32. As is well known, the ridge between the two teeth was not traversed until July 22, 1872, when Messrs. Pendlebury and Taylor crossed it after having reached the Ost Spitze direct from Macugnaga. ('Alpine Journal,' vol. vi. p. 242.) The complete ascent of the Höchste Spitze by way of the Silber Sattel and of the Ostspitze was not achieved till Aug. 10, 1878, when two parties (Messrs. Conway and Scriven, and the Rev. F. T. Wethered), working independently, accomplished the feat ('Alpine Journal,' vol. ix. p. 108). Doubtless it has been done several times since then. I have heard such varying accounts of the difficulty of the climb from the Silber Sattel that I am induced to mention my own experiences on August 3, 1887. We found an enormous mass of fresh snow on the rocks of the peak, so that we floundered rather than climbed, hardly ever touching the rock till we gained the crest close to the Grenz Spitze (one hour fifteen minutes from the Silber Sattel). Thence we found it simply a pleasant and not in the least difficult climb of forty minutes along the ridge to the peak usually ascended from the Riffel. I would speak of the two points as the horns at the two ends of a ridge rather than two teeth separated by a gap or chasm, for I could not discover the latter. It seemed to me that the difference in height between the two was almost imperceptible, as several other climbers also have thought ('Alpine Journal,' vol. vi. p. 244).

75 See also their paper (*Mémoires de l'Académie des*



Sciences de Turin, Série ii. Tome xv. 1853) entitled 'Observations sur la Hauteur du Mont-Rose et des points principaux de ses environs' (28 pages 4to., with two folding plates).

76 Engelhardt, vol. ii. p. 228.

77 'Wanderings among the High Alps,' pp. 210-13.

78 *Ibid.* pp. 139-87.

79 'Berg- und Gletscherfahrten,' second series, pp. 144-53; 'Ueber Eis und Schnee,' vol. ii. p. 197.

80 Peyer, 'Geschichte des Reisens in der Schweiz,' p. 210.

81 See Wills's 'Wanderings,' p. 201; 1856 Murray, p. 313.

82 'Summer Months among the Alps,' p. 152. It is also described in 1855 by Mr. King in his 'Italian Valleys of the Pennine Alps,' pp. 208, 213.

83 For the sake of completeness, I add some dates from Peyer (p. 210). M. Seiler acquired the Mont Cervin hôtel in 1867; took on lease from the commune the Hôtel Zermatt and the Riffelhaus in 1880; and opened his own splendid establishment on the Riffel Alp in 1884.

84 By 1854 the curé owned three-fourths of the house. The Zermatt people were jealous at the success of the inn, and created such disturbances that in 1862 the house was sold to the commune, which gave a fresh lease for fifteen years to M. Seiler, after and on condition of paying the debt on the house (20,000 francs) and of enlarging it and improving it within and without, the Zermatt men delivering the building materials on the spot. In 1864, after these changes had been carried out, it contained thirty bedrooms. See the full details given by the curé himself in his book often referred to before, pp. 151-52. Mr. Wills ('Eagle's Nest,' p. 294), writing in 1857, thus alludes to the Riffel inn: 'the Riffelberg, on which a little hostelry has been built—an accommodation due, if report speaks truly, to the enterprise of three of the neighbouring curés; who found in it a most promising speculation.' As a matter of fact, Welschen, after being curé in Täsch and other places, succeeded Ruden in 1865 as curé of Zermatt, while Kronig was Prior in Niedergesteln—both being, like Ruden, Zermatters by origin. See Ruden's book, pp. 104, 108.

85 This is the earliest mention I have come across of the name borne by Dr. Lauber's inn, though Desor mentions that as early as 1839, its first year, it had a sign. It is an instance of the extreme conservatism of guide-books that Murray does not substitute M. Seiler's name for Dr. Lauber's till the 1858 edition.

86 The 1861 edition, p. 345, says it is taken from 'Schlagintweit's Stuhl.'

87 See the original accounts in the 1856 Murray, p. 306, and 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers,' first series, pp. 128, 137.

88 The full account of their attempts and successful ascent is to be found in the second edition of Messrs. Hudson and Kennedy's 'Where there's a Will there's a Way' (1856, pp. 122-38), which contains, besides the narrative of their ascent of Mont Blanc on Aug. 14, 1855, that of two ascents of Monte Rosa. The first edition has only the Mont Blanc narrative, though in the Preliminary Remarks their successful ascent of Monte Rosa is mentioned. See Herren Ulrich and Weilenmann's paper in 'Berg- und Gletscherfahrten,' first series, pp. 279-94, which contains also a full description of the ascent of August 13 or 14; and Ball's 'Western Alps' (original edition, p. 299; 1875 edition, p. 317).

89 Here are the dates: 1856, Allalinhorn; 1858, Dom; 1859, Rympfischhorn; 1860, Alphubel; 1861, Nord End, Lyskaum, Weisshorn, and Castor; 1862, Täschhorn and Dent Blanche; 1863, Dent d'Hérens; 1864, Rothhorn and Pollux; 1865, Gabelhorn and Matterhorn. The date of the first ascent of the Strahlhorn does not seem to be recorded, but is certainly later than 1852; it was climbed by 1856 (See Wills's 'Wanderings,' p. 170).

90 Peyer, 'Geschichte des Reisens in der Schweiz,' p. 208.

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